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An investigation into the barriers to employment for unskilled workers in Site C, Khayelitsha and Du Noon, Milnerton: does spatial mismatch theory apply?

Deborah Stacey Goetz: GTZDEB001

University of Cape Town



Faculty of the Humanities

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A dissertation submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of
Masters of Sociology.

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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An investigation into the barriers to employment for unskilled workers in Site C, Khayelitsha and Du Noon, Milnerton: does spatial mismatch theory apply?

By: DS Goetz

ABSTRACT

Due to past South African apartheid policies and new development trends, the spatial organisation of Cape Town is dispersed and decentralised. Many disadvantaged communities, including Khayelitsha, lie on the peripheral part of the city in the south east sector, distant from job opportunities. The rate of unemployment in these peripheral areas is high. One explanation suggested in the literature for the high unemployment rate in the peripheral areas of Cape Town is the Spatial Mismatch Theory. This theory argues that the spatial organisation of cities can drive unemployment because of the negative impact of the disconnection between places of work and places of residence (Rospabe and Selod, 2003).

This thesis investigates whether or not the spatial mismatch theory is applicable to the cases of Khayelitsha and Du Noon in Cape Town. This research comparatively explores these case studies because of their similar skill set (unskilled), the high rate of unemployment, and the geographic location of each case relative to the job opportunities. This research adds to the literature by demonstrating under which conditions this spatial mismatch is more or less of a constraint.

This thesis uses a qualitative research design using semi-structured, face-to-face interviews. A total of 18 respondents were interviewed, nine from each case site.

The findings show that the spatial disconnection between Site C and job opportunities often resulted in long and costly commutes to work for many Site C residents, especially to the new developments. Du Noon residents did not experience a spatial mismatch when working in the northern suburbs. However, because Du Noon's transport system is undeveloped, it often made access to Cape Town's newly developed areas difficult. Additionally, Du Noon residents

working in the southern suburbs sometimes experienced a spatial mismatch due to the long distance.

This research added job search theory to the spatial mismatch debate and this revealed that the spatial mismatch constraints imposed on job-seekers differ according to the job search method used. The spatial constraints were found to be most restrictive to job search for Site C residents when using 'place-to-place' search. Conversely, the job search methods such as social networks, newspapers or community hall advertisements often overcome these geographic constraints. Spatial mismatch was most restrictive to job search success for residents of Site C who did not have active networks and could not pay for the commuting cost of place-to-place search. Even though residents of Du Noon did not suffer the constraints of spatial mismatch in using place-to-place search in the northern suburbs, their success in job search was not necessarily better than those living in Site C. Some residents of Du Noon used place-to-place search unsuccessfully and were thereafter successful when using networks to find a job in the same area.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. SUBJECT

This thesis examines the labour market spatial mismatch that exists in Cape Town, specifically investigating its effects on employment for unskilled residents of Site C, Khayelitsha. A spatial disconnection exists between Khayelitsha and job opportunities. The central focus of this thesis is whether or not this disconnection exacerbates the unemployment¹ problem there. In order to ascertain whether or not the spatial mismatch theory applies to the case of Site C, Khayelitsha, a comparative study was conducted in Du Noon. This low-income residential area experiences high unemployment despite its proximity to job opportunities.

1.2. CONTEXT

Khayelitsha, or 'new home' in isiXhosa, is situated approximately 35 kilometres from the Cape Town city centre (South Africa Yellowpages, 2008). The recorded size of the population in Khayelitsha, according to StatsSA (2001), is 329 002 people, with 60 069 in Site C (StatsSA, 2001). The unemployment rate in Khayelitsha is 54% (StatsSA, 2001). As much as 78% of adults aged 20 or older in Site C have an educational level below Matric (StatsSA, 2001) and 41% of the Khayelitsha adult population is unskilled (StatsSA, 2001). Consequently, it is instructive to determine the contributing factors to these statistics.

¹ Unemployed: The International Labour Organisation defines 'unemployed' as "people who are not working for some kind of financial compensation but are a) willing to work; b) available to work; c) actively searching for work" (Schöer and Leibbrandt, 2006, pp.704-705). The fulfilment of the conditions a, b and c defines a 'narrow' definition. A 'broad' definition requires the fulfilment of conditions a and b but does not require condition c (Schöer and Leibbrandt, 2006). This thesis uses the 'expanded' definition of unemployed.

One explanation suggested in the literature for the high unemployment rate in cities' peripheral areas, such as Khayelitsha, is the Spatial Mismatch Theory. This theory focuses on the idea that the spatial organisation of cities can drive unemployment. This would occur because of the negative impact of the disconnection between places of work and places of residence (Rospabe and Selod, 2003). Due to policies adopted during apartheid in South Africa, there are many disadvantaged communities on the peripheral areas of the city that are distant from job opportunities. This is exacerbated by the new spatial trends which have developed in Cape Town. Turok and Watson (2001) describe these trends as dispersed and decentralised, where the vast majority of private sector investment and job growth is occurring in or close to prosperous suburbs in the north and west of the city, while the south east is being bypassed (Turok, 2001).

This research questions the spatial mismatch theory by contrasting the two case studies of Khayelitsha and Du Noon. Du Noon is a low-income residential area situated in the northern suburbs, approximately 20 kilometres from Cape Town's CBD. Within a ten kilometre radius of Du Noon is domestic work in the residential suburbs of Tableview, Milnerton and Parklands, as well as factory jobs in Killarney Gardens, Montague Gardens and Marconi Beam. According to the StatsSA (2001), the population of Du Noon is 9 045. The unemployment rate there is 56% (StatsSA, 2001), and 75% of the population has an educational level below Matric (StatsSA, 2001). Although 42% is not the majority of the population, it is still a very high percentage. This rate of unemployment is comparatively lower than Khayelitsha and may be due to its location, i.e.: spatial mismatch is not an obstacle. However, both cases still have a high unemployment rate and therefore one needs to examine a variety of possible causes and differences between the two cases.

1.3. PLAN OF DEVELOPMENT

The thesis commences with a presentation and discussion of the existing literature on the research topic. This comprises global spatial trends, spatial trends in Cape Town, spatial mismatch theory and job search theory. The literature review is followed by an explanation of the methodology used in the research, including a discussion of its limitations. Thereafter, the

findings of the research are presented, and are discussed with particular reference to the literature. Finally, conclusions are drawn based on the analysis.

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CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

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2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The spatial mismatch theory, coined by Kain in 1968, suggests that the spatial organisation of cities creates high unemployment by concentrating disadvantaged families in poverty zones (central city) and distancing them from job opportunities (in the suburbs). This physical disconnection could possibly affect job-seekers' and workers' access to job information, choice of job search methods, travel costs, travel times and inevitably employment success or failure. Since the spatial mismatch theory emerged in the United States (U.S.) in 1968, there has been a continuous debate over the legitimacy of the theory. The theory has also been analysed in the context of Cape Town, South Africa, where the disadvantaged black communities with high rates of unemployment lie on the periphery of the city (not the central city as in the U.S.) far from job opportunities. In addition to questioning the spatial mismatch theory, this paper also investigates whether or not the relative affect of spatial disconnection differs with the choice of job search method used. For this reason, past literature on job search has also been reviewed.

2.1. GLOBAL SPATIAL PATTERNS

A new global spatial pattern has been recognised where cities are becoming increasingly divided between the rich, who live in exclusionary, internationally connected enclaves, and the poor who are constrained in excluded ghettos (Marcuse and van Kempen, 2000). Marcuse and van Kempen (2000) refer to these cities as mega-cities or world-cities. There are many possible causes for spatial divisions within the city, including globalization, differences in power relationships, and developing technologies (Marcuse and van Kempen, 2000). Gobillon, Selod and Zenou (2007) discuss how the emergence of new transport modes in the U.S. made it possible for people to suburbanize, for example: tramways, trains and cars. Marcuse and van Kempen (2000) describe how the spatial restructuring mentioned above has created new spatial formations, including citadels or exclusionary enclaves, gentrified areas, suburbs, and excluded ghettos. Citadels or exclusionary enclaves (physically and socially) are protective enclaves of the rich that are extremely mobile and operate on a global level. Gentrified areas are usually older areas occupied by professionals, yuppies and managers that are however still surrounded by an older and often

poorer population. The suburbs are described by Marcuse and van Kempen (2000) as “totalizing”, “edge cities” consisting of middle class households. In the suburbs, business activities, employment centers, and commercial and cultural facilities are brought together with the residential function, so that all ones needs are easily met. Marcuse and van Kempen (2000) explain that people do not have to leave these suburban environments, as they are independent in terms of their daily lives and daily activities. These edge cities compete with existing large cities, as the central city is no longer the dominant area in terms of jobs, restaurants and shops (Marcuse and van Kempen, 2000). The “excluded ghetto” is a new type of ghetto that is not only racially defined, as was the case with past ghettos, but whereby the new urban poor are excluded from the economic life of the surrounding society, which does not profit significantly from its existence (Marcuse and van Kempen, 2000).

The U.S. metropolitan areas are examples where these spatial changes are occurring. In the second half of the 20th century jobs decreased in central cities and increased in the suburbs. This resulted in whites suburbanizing and black households remaining in central cities, far from suitable suburban jobs (Gobillon, Selod and Zenou, 2007). The degree of suburbanization varied with job type. Gobillon, Selod and Zenou (2007) presents empirical evidence showing that between 1980 and 1990 manual jobs decreased in almost all city centres of the 10 largest MSA and this trend continued between 1990 and 2000. Although the service jobs (both skilled and unskilled) grew in the city centre, they grew much more in the suburbs.

The metropolitan area of Atlanta demonstrates the movement of jobs to the northern suburbs and a significant reduction in the percentage of the region's jobs located in black neighbourhoods (Ihlanfeldt and Sjoquist, 2000). Many of the new jobs on the north side of the region are not accessible to poor blacks living on the south side since the bus and rail system does not extend from the black inner city areas to the suburban jobs (Ihlanfeldt and Sjoquist, 2000).

2.2. SPATIAL MISMATCH THEORY

Following the Kerner commission in 1968, Kain argued that the major reason for the high rates of poverty and unemployment of black U.S. cities was the spatial disconnection between inner-city ghetto's (where blacks resided) and the suburbs (to where low-skilled job had begun to decentralize) (Gobillon, Selod and Zenou, 2007). This became known as the spatial mismatch hypothesis. The spatial mismatch hypothesis considers that inner city blacks do not reside close to (suburban) jobs because they are racially discriminated against in the suburban housing market (Gobillon, Selod and Zenou, 2007). The hypothesis focuses exclusively on the unskilled labour force (Gobillon, Selod and Zenou, 2007). The theory explains that the spatial organisation of cities, which concentrates disadvantaged families in poverty zones, can drive unemployment because of the negative impact of the disconnection between places of work and places of residence (Rospabe and Selod, 2003; Houston, 2005). Cohn and Fossett (1996) give the example of Boston and Houston, where racial segregation has continued to disproportionately concentrate blacks in inner city ghetto's and because blacks have inferior access to automobiles they are less capable than whites of physically reaching suburban jobs and are thus more subject to unemployment.

Since 1968 when the spatial mismatch theory emerged in the U.S., there has been a lot of debate over its legitimacy.

Holzer and Ihlanfeldt (1996) completed a survey of 800 employers in four large metropolitan areas (Atlanta, Boston, Detroit and Los Angeles). Their results were consistent with the spatial mismatch theory, finding that employers' proximity to black residences and to public transit both increases the likelihood that they will hire black employees. In addition, they found that wages are lower in those businesses which are located relatively close to the black population.

Ihlanfeldt and Young (1996) present their survey study results which also support the spatial mismatch theory. The survey was conducted of the managers of 102 fast-food hamburger restaurants in the Atlanta, Georgia metropolitan area. The research questioned why the share of

jobs held by blacks was smaller in the suburbs in comparison to the central city. Their survey revealed various factors which explain the difference in black employment share between central city and suburban restaurants: Firstly, the expected wages (the probability of employment times the wage rate) are higher in the suburbs than within the central city. Secondly, blacks encounter greater hiring discrimination for entry level jobs in the suburbs than they do within the city. Thirdly, the proximity of the restaurant to mass transit was found to have an important influence on the racial composition of the restaurants. A statistical result of particular interest is that approximately 36% of the difference in black employment share was attributed to the fact that suburban restaurants are less frequently served by public transport.

Kasarda (1993) used tract-level data from 1970, 1980 and 1990 to identify poverty neighbourhoods, extreme poverty neighbourhoods and severely distressed neighbourhoods within the nation's 100 largest central cities. The results supported the spatial mismatch hypothesis. The data showed high jobless rates among inner-city youth who dropped out of school (jobless rate for young school dropouts exceeds 80% in distressed urban neighbourhoods) and a high percentage of black household's in these neighbourhoods that do not have access to private vehicles. Kasarda (1989) states that having access to a private vehicle is essential to obtaining and holding a job in today's suburbanizing economy.

In the research by McLafferty and Preston (1996) they attempt to evaluate the degree of spatial mismatch for minority men and women by comparing commuting times of African Americans, Latino and white workers in New York. Their results support the spatial mismatch hypothesis. They found that American men and women living in the centre of the region have poorer access to employment than white counterparts, whereas in the suburbs, African American women and Latino's suffer no mismatch but rather their longer commutes reflect reliance on public transit. This research also showed that between 1980 and 1990 the limits of spatial mismatch for minority women have not changed much.

Some research does, however dispute the spatial mismatch theory. For example: The results of the research by Cohn and Fossett (1996) fail to support the spatial mismatch theory. The study of

Boston and Houston revealed that blacks had superior spatial access to jobs, even when restricted to entry-level jobs. The study concluded questioning why whites are more likely than blacks in actually holding jobs.

2.3. SPATIAL PATTERNS IN CAPE TOWN

Spatial trends in Cape Town differ from those in the US in that the disadvantaged black communities, with high rates of unemployment, do not live in the inner city but rather are restricted to living in peripheral areas. Job opportunities are distant from these communities and therefore there is the possibility that spatial mismatch is one important reason for the high rate of unemployment.

Rospabe and Selod (2003) depict South Africa's current spatial pattern as one with a high level of urban sprawl and high segregation of population groups. This situation is largely a result of apartheid policies such as the Group Areas Act of 1950, which assigned racial groups to different residential and business sections in urban areas in a system of urban apartheid. The aim of the law was to exclude blacks (Africans, coloureds and Indians) from living in the most developed areas, which were restricted to whites. The apartheid policies resulted in long commutes for blacks from their homes to work and the imposition of high costs on the mobility for the black population (Turok, 2001).

Even though these policies have now been abolished, urban fragmentation still remains the norm and the spatial patterns of segregation still prevail (Rospabe and Selod, 2003). As illustrated in Table 1 below, whites are less segregated from Asians than they are from coloureds or blacks. Blacks are almost completely segregated from all other groups (Rospabe and Selod, 2003).

Table 1. Dissimilarity Indices (Cape Town urban area, 1996) (Reproduced from Rospabe and Selod, 2003)

Blacks/ Whites	Blacks/ Asians	Blacks/ Coloureds	Whites/ Asians	Whites/ Coloureds	Coloured/ Asians
92.8%	94.5%	93.5%	76.3%	86.1%	63.3%

Rospabe and Selod (2003) show in Figures 1 and 2 how coloureds and especially blacks live in the peripheral areas far from employment opportunities. These peripheral areas are in south east sector of Cape Town and include Phillipi, Mitchells Plain, the airport and Khayelitsha. This is seen in Figure 3, below.

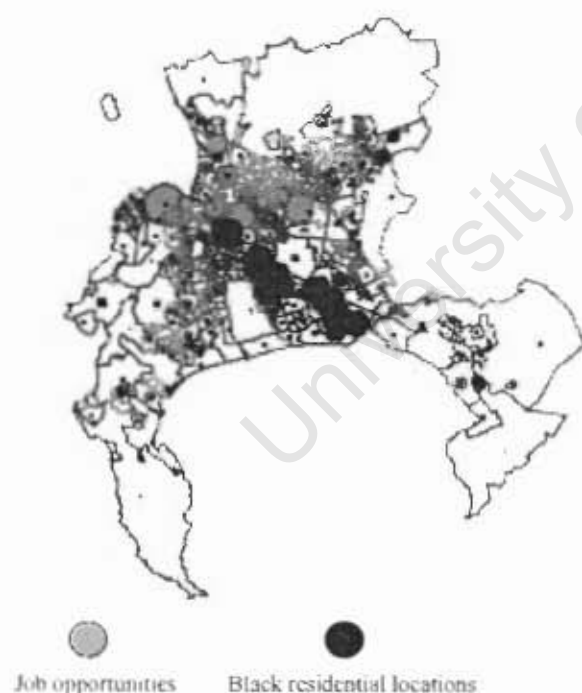


Figure 1. The locations of blacks in Cape Town

Source: Reproduced from Rospabe and Selod (2003)

creates a situation whereby the south east sector of Cape Town is being bypassed by developers. This is illustrated in Figure 3.

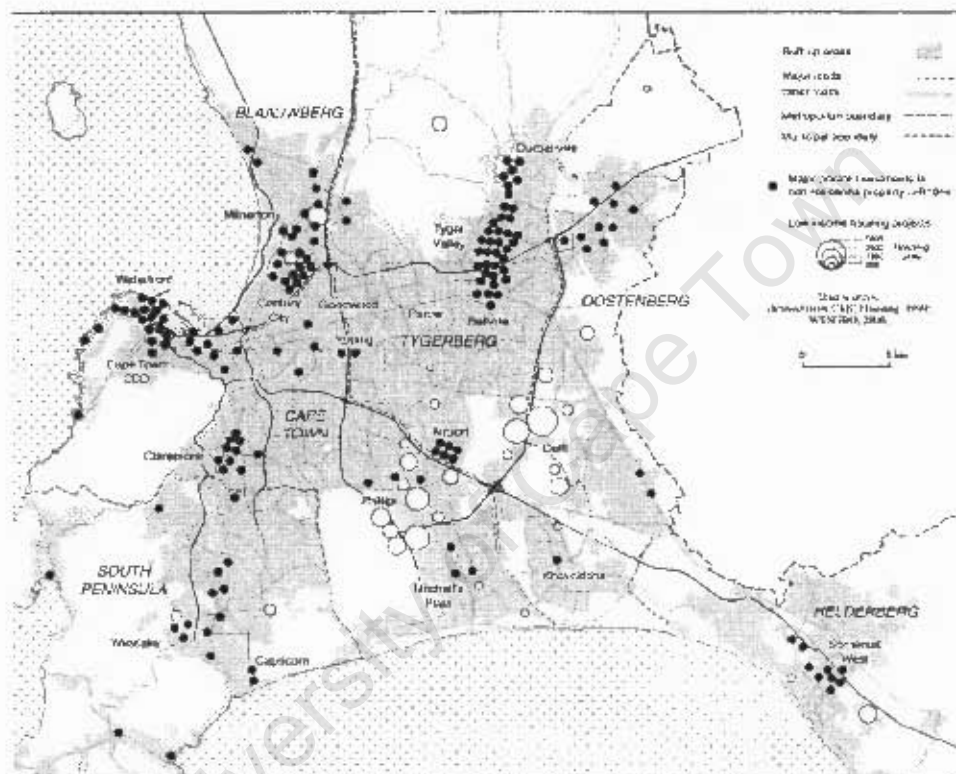


Figure 3. Location of economic development and housing

Source: Reproduced from Turok (2001)

Access to job opportunities for residents of the south east sector is reduced because the expanding suburban nodes are less well served by the commuter rail and bus network than is the CBD, illustrated in Figure 3 (Turok, 2001). Decentralisation and deconcentration have benefited the north disproportionately (Turok, 2001). Although there has been some public investment in the south east area of Cape Town, it is geared towards household consumption infrastructure, rather than towards employment generating and commercial development infrastructure. Differentiation results in less accessibility for low income groups to new developments and job opportunities, in terms of physical proximity, public transport access and pricing structures.

These specialized economic centres risk becoming insulated enclaves that are used only by the affluent minority in the population (Turok, 2001) and this contributes to the city's spatial polarisation (Lemanski, 2007). Examples of these commercial, business and residential developments in Cape Town are Century City, Tygervalley and Cape Gate in the northern suburbs, as well as Claremont redevelopment and Westlake in the southern suburbs. These developments have concentrated investment in already affluent spaces, but they have also occurred at the expense of development or investment in the city's poverty stricken African and coloured south eastern areas (Lemanski, 2007). The spatial distance is also exacerbated by the new developments which have occurred in the north, leaving the south east essentially a dormant area with few signs of growth for employment opportunities (Turok, 2001).

This ongoing segregation and concentration of lower income people into particular parts of the city allows for social, economic and spatial exclusion to occur (Turok and Watson, 2001), resembling 'excluded ghettos', as defined by Marcuse and Van Kempen (2000).

Turok (2001) notes that these new economic centres, in which most private investment is occurring, tend to be less accessible to low income groups in terms of physical proximity and public transport. This physical disconnection can be a source of many constraints to employment. One result is long and costly commutes. This is exacerbated by poor quality public transport and traffic congestion, as well as low transport frequency, especially for unskilled workers who may work odd hours (Rospabe and Selod, 2003). These constraints can hinder worker mobility. The high cost of transport becomes an enormous burden for poor people, as it erodes their already inadequate disposable income and this often deters a person from accepting a job (Turok, 2001; Rospabe and Selod, 2003). Even when there is transport available, one needs to question if the distant travel to a particular job is worthwhile because of the financial cost, time and inconvenience associated with travel (Houston, 2005).

The above mentioned transport constraints have a knock-on effect on job search, since the expense of the transport for job search needs to be weighed up against the probability of finding

a job (Rospabe and Selod, 2003). These extensive costs may exceed the benefits of finding work in these areas (Ihlanfeldt and Sjoquist, 2000).

The ability to travel the long distances is also affected by household constraints. This is known as the 'Household responsibility hypothesis' (Mcquaid et al. (2001) which suggests that differences in willingness to travel long distances to work are due to household constraints, such as childcare. The statistical results in the study by Mcquaid et al. (2001) show that being a woman and having dependant children under 18 both have a significant negative impact on travel time (Mcquaid et al., 2001). They also show that increasing age has a negative effect on people's tolerance for longer travelling times. Time spent travelling diminishes the available time to participate in family life (Turok and Watson, 2001).

Some high-skilled workers also commute significant distances; however, this is more viable because of the higher earnings they obtain (Houston, 2005). The significant distances travelled by these higher income earners are also a result of their choice of residential location (Houston, 2005).

The spatial mismatch debates in the literature, as presented above, discuss various effects of the spatial mismatch in Cape Town, such as increased transport costs, increased commuting times and decreased job information. However, the debate largely ignores how the effect of spatial mismatch differs according to the job search method used. By distinguishing between the different search methods used, it may be possible to uncover some important dynamics of spatial mismatch and to identify the significance of the spatial constraints for each of these methods.

2.4. JOB SEARCH

Schöer and Leibbrandt (2006) argue that the unemployed pursue search methods that are a compromise between what they perceive to be effective and what is feasible for them. Many elements play a role in either facilitating or constraining the pursuit of certain search methods

and their success. Schöer and Leibbrandt (2006) reference several studies in South Africa following this search-constraints argument of unemployment. The physical disconnection between jobs and residence can act as a constraint to job search and obtaining information when one requires the use of specific modes of search, such as knocking on doors.

Being socially embedded can both constrain and facilitate job search. The household or peer group can facilitate the pursuit of the search by either giving access to financial resources to cover the search cost or by acting as information transmitters (Schöer and Leibbrandt, 2006). Having an employed household member increases the probability of employment success, as the employed household member can give the unemployed household member access to relevant labour market information. Often, information is not available through formal channels and therefore unskilled workers have to rely on informal channels or have to contact the employer directly (Schöer and Leibbrandt, 2006).

Rospabe and Selod (2003) discuss this idea in terms of residential segregation. They discuss how social networks are a key factor in job acquisition for a large proportion of unskilled workers who often find jobs through personal contacts. However, residents living in disadvantaged neighbourhoods are disadvantaged by poor quality social networks because the local rate of unemployment is high and therefore local residents know fewer employed people who can refer them to an employer (Rospabe and Selod, 2003).

The social embeddedness of the individual can also act as an obstacle because certain households and communities might limit the range of options or search methods which are available to the individual (Schöer and Leibbrandt, 2006). An example of this kind of social obligation is an expectation that females should take care of the household, children and elderly. When other household members expect the female to perform such duties, it might be impossible for her to leave the house in order to search for a job (Schöer and Leibbrandt, 2006).

The problem is that some methods which increase the probabilities of locating a job and obtaining a job are not available or feasible for some job-seekers. If the job-seeker does not have

an employed household member or employed peers, using social networks as a search method seems highly ineffective. This clearly indicates that the choice of the search method is to some extent constrained; that is the search strategy is a compromise between what is perceived to be the best way to look for a job and what is feasible (Schöer and Leibbrandt, 2006).

The study by Schöer and Leibbrandt (2006) is appropriate for this thesis because it deals with the same study area, namely, Khayelitsha. Their study finds that the probability of finding employment is the highest for network searchers and the lowest for place-to-place searchers (Schöer and Leibbrandt, 2006). They show that having contacts with employed friends and relatives significantly increases the probability of finding a job while it also reduces the cost of search (Schöer and Leibbrandt, 2006).

The study by Schöer and Leibbrandt (2006) uses a quantitative, questionnaire survey method of research. Their approach used standard questions for each interview and restricted responses to predetermined parameters such as the search method categories. This deductive approach limited the identification of new job search trends. In contrast, when using qualitative methods of search, it may be possible to find new dynamics of search. This can occur because a qualitative, open-ended interview method gives respondents more freedom to share their experiences relating to their employment. As a result, a wider range of information can emerge. In this thesis, I have used the qualitative approach mentioned.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

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3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. RESEARCH DESIGN

A qualitative research methodology was used to explore the barriers to employment for unskilled workers in Site C in Khayelitsha and Du Noon in Killarney. Khayelitsha is on the peripheral boundary of the city, far away from employment opportunities whilst Du Noon is close to employment opportunities. I used a comparative study of the two cases as a means to identify whether the isolation of Site C, due to distance from job opportunities, plays a role in exacerbating unemployment and whether or not any of these barriers can be overcome. The research has attempted to gain comprehensive insight into each case (Babbie and Mouton, 2005). The case study method has been used in an effort to study and understand this social phenomenon through analysing the individual cases and producing an intensive, detailed, in-depth analysis of the specific cases, understanding all its complexities (Punch, 1998).

3.2. SAMPLING

This research used non-probability, purposive sampling. I used purposive sampling in order to find cases exhibiting specific criteria in which I was interested. For example, unemployed and employed unskilled respondents were selected in order to compare their differing or similar attributes, such as choice of search methods. Site C was chosen purposively because of the high unemployment rate and its geographic isolation. Du Noon was chosen because of the high unemployment rate and its ability to act as a comparative study to Khayelitsha in terms of its geography. Specifically, Khayelitsha is distant from employment opportunities whereas Du Noon, in the northern suburbs, is close to job opportunities.

The final sample comprised of nine residents of Site C and nine residents of Du Noon.

Babbie and Mouton (2005) show how selecting one's sample on the basis of one's own knowledge of the population can sometimes be appropriate. My prior experience of working in the community of Khayelitsha has allowed for an understanding of many of the community dynamics which usually take time to learn. This allows for a greater ability to gain an insider's perspective when doing the research. I have made many connections in the community and my face is familiar which has helped in gaining the trust of the respondents. Although I had not previously worked in Du Noon, I was able to connect with a community member with the help of a friend from Site C.

3.3. DATA COLLECTION STRATEGY

This research used semi-structured, face-to-face interviews as a means for collecting data. De Vos et al. (2006) define qualitative interviews as an attempt to understand the world from the participant's point of view, and to find the meaning of the participant's experiences. They allow for an understanding of both the content of the interview and the more elusive behavioural elements of an interview, such as the participant's body language (De Vos et al., 2006). This is an important element of semi-structured, face-to-face, in-depth interviews which cannot be obtained by using, for example, a structured survey method. The semi-structured, face-to-face interviews allow for flexibility because the researcher is able to follow up on particular interesting avenues of enquiry that emerge during the interview. With semi-structured interviews, the researcher is guided rather than dictated to by the schedule of questions, unlike with questionnaires which are structured and standardised (De Vos et al., 2006). Babbie and Mouton (2005) explain that when using a standardised survey one designs questions that will be at least minimally appropriate to all respondents, and one may therefore miss out on what is most appropriate to many respondents. Another problem with the structured, pre-determined survey method is that even if the researcher becomes aware of an important new variable operating in the phenomenon, they can do nothing about it unless they redo the survey (Babbie and Mouton, 2005). In light of the above problems, this research has not used surveys but rather in-depth interviews, which are less structured and are sufficiently flexible to overcome the above

challenges. Unstructured, in-depth interviews pose open-ended questions with no pre-established categories of response in order to understand the complex behaviour with no limitations (Punch, 1998). These in-depth interviews have helped to gain a “thick description” of specifics, as opposed to summary of standardised descriptions gained from methods such as surveys and more quantitative methods (Babbie and Mouton, 2005). Silverman (2001) criticizes the quantitative methodology on the basis that it can often amount to a ‘quick fix’, involving little or no contact with people or the ‘field’ and therefore can result in losing a deeper understanding which might otherwise be attained using qualitative methods.

The interviews have been recorded with permission from each respondent so as to gain a verbatim account of the interviews. Other non-verbal cues were recorded manually using a notebook.

3.4. DATA ANALYSIS

The qualitative data analysis method of ‘grounded theory’ has been used in this research. The method allows for the data to be transformed into findings and conclusions in order to generate theory. When using grounded theory in its extreme form, the theory is developed inductively from the data (Punch, 1998). However, Miles and Huberman (1994) state that any researcher, no matter how unstructured or inductive their approach, comes to fieldwork with some pre-conceived ideas. This thesis was pre-structured and operated deductively; however, not in its extreme form of having had a set hypothesis. Rather, it commenced with a general framework of ideas based on other theorists’ research on the subject and context. The analysis process using grounded theory began with some initial research questions, whereby I collected the first data set. At this point, I began analysing the data. The second set of data was thereafter collected, guided by the emerging directions from the first analysis. This cycle of alternating between data collection and analysis continued until theoretical saturation was achieved, which is until no new theoretical elements were found in the data, but rather a pattern of confirmation on what had already been found started occurring (Punch, 1998). I ‘tested’ the plausibility of my

understanding of the data by searching for negative instances of the patterns. Alternative explanations were identified and described and thereafter I demonstrated why my explanation offered is the most plausible of all. This approach is consistent with that suggested by De Vos et al. (2006).

3.5. LIMITATIONS

3.5.1. Data collection strategy

A language barrier may exist between the participant and interviewer. This can affect the validity of the information and can occur when a participant struggles to find the appropriate English words needed for their description. This problem occurred in one interview in this research which took place in Khayelitsha. I was able to overcome this barrier with the help of the respondent's friend who translated the interview.

The researcher used a dictaphone to record the interviews. Although this may have an effect on the interview i.e.: the respondent may be aware of the recording and therefore omit some information, all the respondents interviewed were asked permission for using the dictaphone. Each respondent was given the opportunity to deny the use of the dictaphone, however none did and most seemed comfortable.

3.5.2. Reliability and validity

When doing qualitative research, one needs to be aware of two problems that can arise, namely the problem of reliability and the problem of anecdotalism. Anecdotalism questions the validity of the research. Validity of research refers to the extent to which a social phenomenon has been accurately accounted for (Silverman, 2001). Sometimes one doubts the validity of an explanation because the researcher has clearly made no attempt to deal with contrary cases (Silverman, 2001). Another problem that often occurs, which negatively affects the validity of research, is

that authors sometimes have a tendency to select their data to fit an ideal conception or preconception of the phenomenon and a tendency to select field data which are conspicuous because they are exotic, at the expense of less dramatic data (Silverman, 2001). Silverman (2001) shows how qualitative research can be made credible and resistant to the charge of anecdotalism by making every effort to falsify the initial assumption about one's data. Punch (1998) suggested that one could overcome this problem by falsifying theories and thereafter working out the conditions under which certain hypotheses are true. I adopted this approach in my analysis.

Reliability refers to the degree of consistency of the findings by different observers or by the same observer on different occasions (Silverman, 2001). An example where the problem of reliability may arise is how two different researchers are feeling when they do their observations, as this is likely to influence what they see or how they misinterpret what they see. Another problem occurs when researchers ask questions that people do not know the answers to or they think are totally irrelevant. This will affect how they answer the question. This is very difficult to prevent when doing qualitative research and therefore one can just try to be conscious of these problems. This thesis has tried to avoid these problems by making sure that the tape-recorded, face-to-face interviews were transcribed verbatim. Only one interviewer was used to try avoid the different approaches of different researchers.

Miles and Huberman (1994) present ways to assess the quality of data in order to verify the findings. They include, firstly, checking for representativeness, where the researcher avoids relying on the 'local elite' – those who are articulate, insightful, attractive and intellectually responsive – as respondents (Miles and Huberman, 1994). This was important in this research as the respondents were less educated and some struggled conversing in English. Secondly, they include checking for 'researcher effects' where the researcher, as an outsider can often affect the behaviour of those being observed or interviewed. I have tried to avoid this by making my intentions clear to all the respondents. Due to the fact that I have worked in the Site C community for three years, I believe this researcher affect has been minimized.

3.6. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

It is understood that any research of this nature needs to take into account all ethical considerations. This helps avoiding harm to the participants. It is essential that the participation by the respondent is voluntary (Babbie and Mouton, 2005). The respondents were all verbally informed of the purpose of the research and the concept of anonymity. They were all asked for their consent in the participation in the research. A written consent form was not used, but rather verbal consent. The research has also gained clearance from the Research Ethics Committee of the Sociology Department.

CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS

University of Cape Town

4. ANALYSIS

4.1. INTRODUCTION

The spatial mismatch theory is centred on the idea that the spatial organisation of cities can drive unemployment because of the negative impact of the disconnection between places of work and places of residence (Rospabe and Selod, 2003). The literature argues that this physical disconnection can result in decreased information attainment about jobs opportunities, as well as increased commuting times, commuting costs and job search costs.

The findings in this research re-iterate the findings in past literature in Cape Town (Turok, 2001; Rospabe and Selod, 2003) in demonstrating that there is a spatial mismatch between places of work and residence, often resulting in long and costly commutes. This research goes on to add to the literature by demonstrating under which conditions this spatial mismatch is more or less of a constraint in finding and keeping a job.

The analysis examines the effects of spatial mismatch on 'job search' and 'job maintenance' as two distinct categories. 'Job search' refers to locating and obtaining employment and 'job maintenance' refers to the ability to keep employment. Important dynamics are revealed by adding job search analysis to the spatial mismatch debate. This approach allows one to be more specific in understanding the constraints, allowing one to therefore find better directed solutions.

4.2. SPATIAL DYNAMICS IN CAPE TOWN

In order to understand the spatial constraints faced by residents of the low-income areas of Du Noon and Site C, it is instructive to start by examining the geographic dynamics between these residences and the locations of job opportunities.



Figure 4. Cape Town urban area

Source: Adapted from, Rospabe and Selod (2003)

Site C is situated approximately 35 kilometres from the Cape Town Central Business District (CBD). The northern suburbs are approximately 30 to 40 kilometres from Site C and include the shopping, office and residential complex of Century City (Milnerton), the residential suburbs of Milnerton, Monte Vista, Tableview and Parklands, and the industrial parks of Marconi Beam

(Milnerton) and Killarney (Milnerton). The southern suburbs are approximately 25 to 35 kilometres from Site C and include Rondebosch, Newlands, Observatory, and Claremont. Du Noon is situated within the northern suburbs, approximately 20 kilometres from the CBD and approximately 25 kilometres from the southern suburbs. These areas can be viewed in Figure 4 above.

Khayelitsha is situated on the periphery of the city, in the south east sector, and is geographically distant from most of the job opportunities. The Cape Town CBD, together with the northern and southern parts of the city, contain 37% of the population and 80% of the jobs (Turok, 2001). As a result, high costs of mobility are imposed on the black population of Khayelitsha as they have to travel long distances to work (Turok, 2001). Today, the nature of the city's spatial mismatch is changing, as many of the new developments are less accessible by public transport and therefore more costly. Turok and Watson (2001) explain that Cape Town is changing to a more dispersed and decentralised structure in which the vast majority of private sector investment and job growth is occurring in or close to prosperous suburbs in the north and west of the city. The south east of the city, including Khayelitsha, is being bypassed by new economic developments (Figures 5).

The spatial mismatch in Cape Town differs from that in the U.S. metropolitan areas. In Cape Town, the disadvantaged black communities with high rates of unemployment lie on the periphery of the city, whereas in the U.S. they are in the centre of the city, far from job opportunities. However, the spatial mismatch theory is still very relevant and needs to be questioned, because the black population on the periphery is spatially disconnected from job opportunities (as in the U.S.) and there is a high rate of unemployment and low skills.

Many of the residents in Khayelitsha need to use public transport and therefore the efficiency and cost of the transport system play a big role on their work experience. The Cape Town public transport system comprises three modes of transport, namely trains, buses and mini-taxis. At present, the Cape Town railway system comprises four lines that run from the CBD to various areas in Cape Town including:

1. Simons Town, via the middle class, mostly white 'southern suburbs' areas such as Observatory, Rondebosch, and Mowbray (Metrorail, 2009).
2. Retreat, via the coloured working class areas of Landsdowne and Athlone (Metrorail, 2009).
3. Khayelitsha and Mitchell's Plain, via the coloured and African mostly working class areas of Bonteheuwel, Heideveld, Nyanga and Philippi (Metrorail, 2009).
4. Bellville (extending to Malmesbury, Worcester and the Strand), via Goodwood and Parow and Monte Vista (Metrorail, 2009).

Since the railway lines converge in the CBD, train users are forced to come into the CBD to change train lines in order to reach many destinations, rather than being able to travel to their destinations directly.

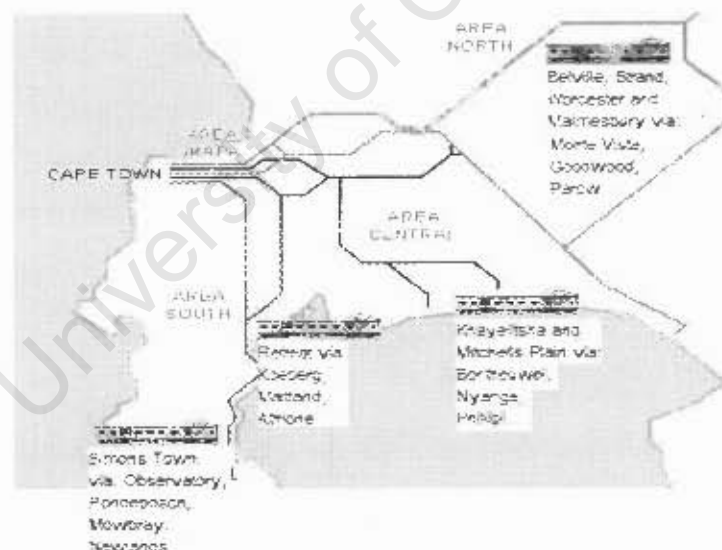


Figure 5. Cape Town railway lines

Source: Adapted from Metrorail (2009)

The structure of the railway lines affects the cost and time of commutes for users. The older commercial and industrial areas along the railway line to Khayelitsha are much more accessible by public transport for Site C residents as residents can access the older areas using a train directly, the cheapest form of public transport. Conversely, to access the new developments in

the northern suburbs such as Century City from Khayelitsha or the southern suburbs (Claremont, Observatory, Rondebosch and Constantia), residents must either take time-consuming, indirect routes via the CBD using combinations of trains, or use combinations of different forms of public transport, including the more expensive options of buses and taxis. .

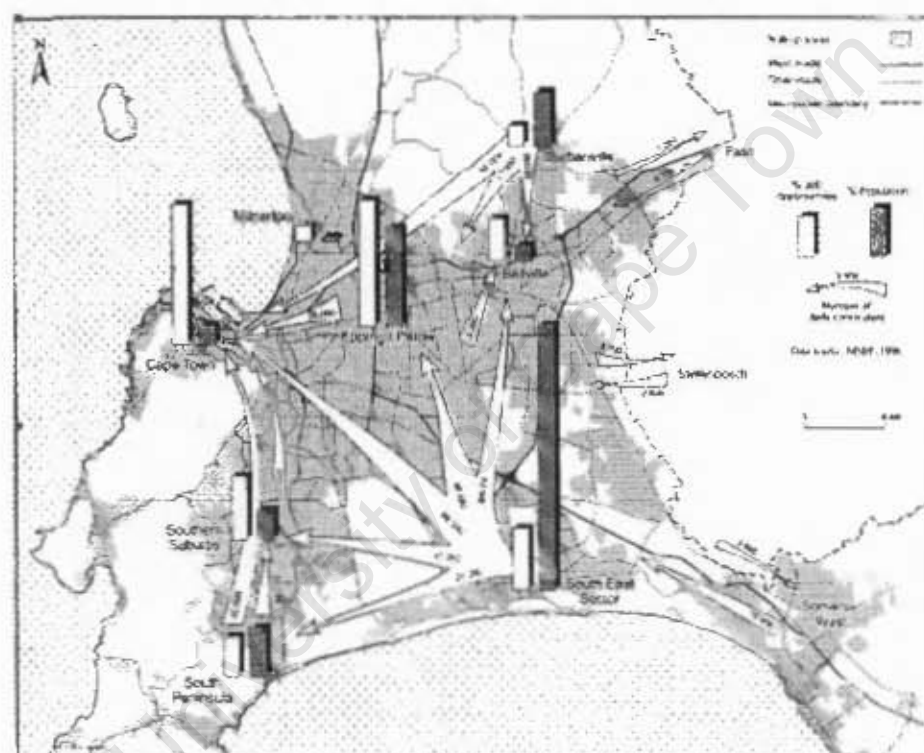


Figure 6. Mismatch between places of work and residence in Cape Town

Source: Reproduced from Turok (2001)

4.3. SPATIAL CONSTRAINTS FOR SITE C RESIDENTS

Due to the changing nature of the spatial mismatch, (for example the new developments in areas less easily reached by public transport), the spatial disconnection has become more of a challenge for Site C residents. An example of a job location easily accessible to Site C residents along the railway line is the industrial area of Epping. Ayanda (2008), previously a resident of

Site C and now a resident of Du Noon, searched for jobs in Epping using the train from Site C. This cost her R5.50 for a single ticket. However, for Ayanda to have reached the new development areas in the northern suburbs, she would have needed to take a train from Site C station (Nolungile station) approximately 35 kilometres into the CBD and then take another train out of the CBD to the Monte Vista or Maitland train station for approximately 15 to 20 kilometres. She would then have needed to walk, or take a taxi or bus to her final destination. This second scenario would have been more difficult and more expensive, illustrating the new nature of the mismatch.

The route of the railway lines makes journeys to newly developed areas long and indirect. Turok (2001) explains how the access to job locations for residents in the south east sector is being reduced as the expanding suburban centres are less well served by the commuter rail and bus networks than is the CBD. As in the above example, this mismatch makes commutes longer and more costly, since accessing destinations often requires more than one train or combinations of modes of public transport. Even though there is a subsidy amounting to R4500 per annum for each commuter from Khayelitsha (Turok, 2001), the distance to jobs and the need to often use more than one mode of transport to get there increases the cost of commuting. This erodes the job-seekers' limited disposable income.

For unskilled residents of Site C with low-wage jobs, it is important to find the transport options that cost the least. The constraints created by the new development areas for those living in Khayelitsha are demonstrated by empirical examples. Ayanda (2008), previously a Site C resident, worked approximately 30 kilometres away from Site C in Edgemoor in the northern suburbs. She paid R286 a month to take a direct bus approximately 25 kilometres to N1 City, a shopping mall next to Edgemoor. She then walked a short distance to work. Ayanda worked in this job from 2002 to 2005; however, the route today is different. According to the main bus company in Cape Town, Golden Arrow (2008, pers. comm., 12 October), the stop closest to Edgemoor for the bus coming from Site C is the Panorama Clinic stop. This is four kilometres from Edgemoor, and would require those working in Edgemoor to either walk or take a taxi to their final destination. A cheaper mode of transport than the bus is the train, since this costs R105

a month. However, this option is more indirect and it would have significantly increased Ayanda's travel time to work. To get to Edgemoor using this method, Ayanda would have had to take a train from Site C approximately 35 kilometres into the CBD and then take another train for approximately 15 kilometres into Monte Vista, before walking the remaining two kilometres to Edgemoor.

Century City in Milnerton is another newly developed retail and office centre that is not directly accessible by train. It is in the northern suburbs, approximately 30 kilometres from Site C, as seen in Figure 4 above. To get to Canal Walk, a large shopping mall in Century City, Site C residents either have to take a bus or a taxi, usually the more expensive options, or take what is usually the cheaper but longer option of a train combined with either a bus or a taxi. The closest train station to Century City is the Monte Vista station. As in the above example, the train route comprises a first trip into the city centre and then a second trip to Monte Vista. This costs R105 per month. One then needs to walk to a bus stop in Edgemoor, approximately three kilometres away, for the nearest bus to Century City (Golden Arrow, 2008, pers. comm., 12 October). The bus from Edgemoor costs R5 per trip, adding up to around R200 a month. The bus stops at Ratanga Road, approximately a two kilometre walk from the entrance to Canal Walk. This option is time consuming. An alternative mode of transport is to take a bus directly from Site C to Century City. This option costs R297 for a monthly ticket, and takes far less time (Alfred, 2008). In this example, it makes more sense to use the direct route from Site C, which is roughly the same cost as the indirect route.

4.4. SPATIAL CONSTRAINTS FOR DU NOON RESIDENTS

For most residents of Du Noon, it appears that there is not as much of a spatial mismatch as experienced by those in Khayelitsha because within a ten kilometre radius of Du Noon is a wide range of job opportunities. This includes domestic work in the residential suburbs of Tableview, Milnerton and Parklands; factory jobs in Killarney Gardens, Montague Gardens and Marconi

Beam; as well as petrol attendant jobs in all of these areas. New developments in the area such as Century City are also providing further opportunities.

Due to the proximity to work areas, Du Noon residents typically travel short distances to their jobs. Zoleka (2008), a Du Noon resident, previously worked at Checkers food store in Tableview as a cashier. Tableview is approximately six kilometres from Du Noon, as seen in Figure 4. Zoleka was able to take a taxi directly to and from work at a cost of R8 for a return ticket. Some, including those working in factories in Killarney Gardens, are able to walk to work.

These short travel distances allow Du Noon residents reduced transport costs and travel times as compared to those of Site C residents. For example, the average taxi ride from Du Noon to jobs in the northern suburbs costs R6, whilst the average taxi from Site C to jobs is approximately R11.50 – almost double the cost. An important difference though is that while Site C residents have the option of using trains, buses, or taxis. Du Noon does not have a well-established public transport infrastructure: taxis are the only option directly out of Du Noon. Since using a taxi is the most expensive mode of public transport, the relative transport costs of Du Noon residents is high given the short distances they typically travel. Furthermore, transport routes for taxis do not always include newly developed areas. For example, Ayanda (2008) who had moved from Site C to Du Noon, worked in the newly developed suburb of Parklands in 2006 as a domestic cleaner. She finished work at 6pm and instead of catching a taxi directly to Du Noon, she first had to walk approximately three kilometres to Tableview to catch the nearest taxi, since there was no public transport from Parklands at that time.

Du Noon residents that travelled further to work first took a taxi to the nearest bus stop at Killarney, or to the nearest train station on the northern suburbs line in Maitland or Monte Vista. These are approximately three kilometres and ten to 15 kilometres away from Du Noon respectively. While the bus station is closer, bus accessibility from Killarney is limited. For example, Killarney station and Monte Vista are approximately ten kilometres apart but one cannot travel directly between the two points. Instead, one needs to first travel approximately seven kilometres from Killarney to Bosmansdam Road in Milnerton. From there one must catch

the Cape Town bus to Edgemoor, after which one walks to Monte Vista. This roundabout route is costly and time consuming.

Turok (2001) shows how new developments in Cape Town are not easily accessible for residents of the south east sector. The above examples appear to indicate that for residents of Du Noon, there is also a degree of difficulty in accessing these new areas using public transport.

Some residents of Du Noon may also suffer the spatial constraints of long and costly commutes when they work in northern suburbs. For example, Vivienne (2008) from Du Noon, who used to be a resident in Nyanga (also on the periphery of Cape Town like Khayelitsha) continues to work in Rondebosch. She was later awarded a government house in Du Noon but still kept the job in Rondebosch. When living in Nyanga, she would take a Golden Arrow bus to Rondebosch which is approximately 15 kilometers away. When she moved to Du Noon she needed to take a taxi to Cape Town CBD and then another taxi to Rondebosch. The journey was approximately 20 kilometers. There are no buses from Du Noon and although the taxi may be convenient, it is the most expensive form of public transport. Her employer pays her taxi fare of R35 a day return and above this, she earns her wage. However, for those who were not earning a sufficient wage (including taxi fare), there would be many spatial obstacles to commuting to work.

4.5. THE ROLE OF SPATIAL MISMATCH IN JOB SEARCH

The spatial mismatch theory claims that the spatial disconnection between job opportunities and residence decreases the effectiveness of job search and therefore exacerbates unemployment. Rogers (1997), Ihlanfeldt and Sjoquist (1990) and Ihlanfeldt (1997) (cited in Rospabe and Selod, 2003) argue that the quantity and quality of information that workers have about jobs decreases with distance to jobs, in turn reducing the efficiency of job search. The debate largely ignores how the relative effect of spatial mismatch may differ under certain conditions. Using contextual evidence, I found that by distinguishing between the job search methods, it is possible to identify for which method the distance between job opportunities and places of residence plays a more of

a significant role. Specifically, I found that the spatial constraints are most restrictive to job search when using 'place-to-place' search; that is, trying to find employment by knocking on the doors of potential employers or looking for job advertisements in shop windows. Conversely, I found that the job search methods such as using social networks, newspapers or community hall advertisements can often overcome these geographic constraints, that is, they are not greatly affected by distance. Spatial mismatch is most prohibitive to job search success for residents of Site C who do not have active networks and cannot pay for the commuting cost of place-to-place search.

Place-to-place search:

As a result of the spatial mismatch in Cape Town, place-to-place job search is costly and time consuming for residents of Site C. Due to the nature of this search method, for example not always having the relevant information about job vacancies, respondents who used the place-to-place search method often made many visits to the search sites. Often, a 'hit and miss' situation occurred, where the searcher did not know if there were any relevant jobs available at the chosen company, or what selection approach was used by managers to recruit job applicants. Since job-seekers often lacked basic knowledge about job vacancies, their searches often required several return visits. Alfred (2008), a resident of Site C, noted that when he searched for employment using the place-to-place search, it was very time consuming since he often knocked on doors without knowing what sort of workers the company employed. Ayanda (2008), a resident of Site C, searched in several places for a job. At one company in Epping at which she was looking for a sewing job, the factory manager came to the gate where she and other job searchers were waiting. He asked if any of them knew a factory employee, explaining that those who did would be first in line for jobs. He added that those who had come the previous week looking for jobs and had written their names on a list were second in line for jobs. People not falling into these two categories were welcome to write down their details and come back the following week. Ayanda continued her search in Bonteheuwel, and after more unsuccessful attempts she decided to search in Goodwood. To get there she took a train from Khayelitsha and alighted at either the Langa station or Bonteheuwel station, depending on the day of search. After moving from company to company looking for a job unsuccessfully, she applied for a job at a mailing house

where the manager took the applicants' names and numbers and asked them to come back the following week, as had happened at the sewing factory. Ayanda returned the following week and was told to return the following day. Again Ayanda returned, and she was hired on a four to six month contract sorting mail.

All the above examples illustrate that this method of search can be very time consuming and costly since their travel costs to search are high. Had Ayanda (2008) not been able to borrow money from her employed mother for her trips to job sites, she would not have been able to maintain her search for as long. Her success was due to her ability to continue her search over many days and various sites. Johanna (2008), a Site C resident, was able to go door-to-door searching for a job in Parow because she had money saved from her previous job. Alfred, (2008) was able to use place-to-place search at certain times when he could borrow money from family, friends, or neighbours.

Some Site C residents, however, are not able to afford the cost and time of this search method, demonstrating that the constraints of spatial mismatch can become prohibitive in using this method. In order to use this method of search, residents had to cover travel cost with savings or loans. The respondents' ability to use this method also varied at different times, for example depending on when they had money or when they did not and could not borrow. Alfred's (2008) ability to use place-to-place search varied with his level of funding over time. He explained that when he wanted to look for jobs but did not have money for transport from Site C, he asked family members for money. He explained how he recently searched for work by sending his C.V. for various jobs he had seen in the newspaper (when he had the money to buy it) or jobs he heard about on the community radio station, 92.20fm. He explained how he could sometimes ask family for the money, however often a situation arose when he heard about or saw a job in the newspaper but could not get money for transport and therefore missed the application date. He felt that he could not ask his neighbours or friends to borrow money because of the uncertainty of how he would pay them back. He would then ask family but this was not always successful because they live far which makes it difficult to get the money. Often, by the time he was able to fetch the money from the distant family, the application date was closed. His sister lived the

closest at only four kilometres away, in Mandela Park, Khayelitsha; however, even to get there Alfred needed a taxi. Since most of his family lived far away from him, he often could not fetch transport money from them since this too would have required transport money.

In Contrast to Khayelitsha, Du Noon's proximity to many job opportunities means that residents could use the place-to-place search method quite easily as they can walk to the industrial area of Killarney Gardens to search for job. This allows them to search for jobs incurring no travel cost and minimal travel time. Although Du Noon residents can use this method to search for jobs in this area without geographic restrictions, it will not be so easy and cheap if they need to search in other areas such as the Southern Suburbs, as commuting cost and time will increase.

Social networks in job search:

In contrast to the place-to-place search method, the network search method was accessible to most Site C job searchers because it limits the cost and time of search caused by spatial mismatch. With this method, respondents made use of their friends, relatives and past employers to widen their information base regarding job vacancies. Additionally, some respondents gained employment by having their employed friends or family members vouch for their competence or reliability. Residents of Site C were able to obtain jobs in distant areas without enduring any job search costs. The job-seekers' networks were not limited to the neighbourhoods in which they lived. Rather, their networks extended to friends, family members and employers living in many different areas around a city. Rospabe and Selod (2003) argued that residential segregation results in a poor quality of social networks, since local residents know fewer people who are employed. This, they argued, leads to sustained high unemployment. However, my research shows that this residential segregation theory does not strictly apply. Alfred (2008), a Site C resident, obtained a job cleaning dishes at a restaurant in Canal Walk in the northern suburbs through his niece who lived in Guguletu and worked in this restaurant. Nbambo (2008), also a Site C resident, found some of her domestic cleaning jobs through her employers. She worked a few days a week for a family in the inner-city suburb of Vredehoek and her employer there recommended Nbambo to a friend who lived in Observatory. This lady then employed Nbambo as well, and subsequently recommended Nbambo to one of her friends living in Mowbray. In

addition to using the assistance of family and friends from different areas to find jobs, empirical examples showed how respondents sometimes contacted past employers in the hope of being employed as a means of gaining assistance in their search. The past employers sometimes provided information about vacancies of which they were aware.

By using social networks as a search method, many Site C residents have shown the ability to overcome the constraints of spatial mismatch. For example; Goodman (2008), a Site C resident, obtained employment with the help of his brother who worked as a bricklayer for a company in Montagu Gardens, in Milnerton. Alfred (2008), also a Site C resident, was employed after being offered a job by a past manager of his. The manager was looking for staff at a new branch of a restaurant at which Alfred had previously worked. Alfred got a job making coffee at the new restaurant in Tableview, approximately 35 kilometres from Site C. Prior to the call, he had not known about the restaurant's new branch and its vacancies.

Although this method helps overcome the spatial mismatch constraints, not everyone has an active network that can assist in job search. In these cases, residents of Site C will have to use the other search methods which may be restricted by spatial mismatch and this will almost inevitably affect the success of their job search. Gloria (2008) for example, tried to use networks as a search method by asking friends, family and neighbours if they knew of any available jobs, but most of her friends were unemployed. She explained that it was sometimes difficult to use her family members as job connections as they are predominantly male and were employed doing heavy labour work such as construction. She felt that even when someone you know (a friend or a neighbour) hears about a job, they do not tell you because they would rather give it to someone in their family. By the time Gloria was interviewed for the second time in this research, she had become employed as a domestic worker. She acquired this job through her mother. Her mother was too sick to work and Gloria took over the position. This demonstrates that if one's networks are active, then one can find work using this method; if not, one will have to use other methods even if spatially constrained.

In many cases, job-seekers overcame the spatial mismatch constraints of place-to-place search by finding a job opportunity using a newspaper or networks. However, when there were a number of interview stages required on site, the spatial mismatch once again became a challenge. This was the case with Alfred (2008), a resident of Site C. A friend with whom he had previously worked informed him of a vacancy for a law-enforcement job. In this case, he was able to overcome the travel constraints by borrowing money from his contacts; however, every interview challenged him to beg and borrow for the costly commutes. To hand in an application form he had to take a taxi to the police station in central Khayelitsha. This cost R16, although had it not been raining he would have been able to save R4 by walking for part of the trip. After handing in his application, he got called back for a fitness test in Wynberg. To get there he collected money from friends and neighbours and took a taxi to Wynberg which cost R11.50 one way. He passed the fitness test and was called back for an interview in Observatory. He once again asked his neighbours for transport money, and took the train from the Nolungile train station in Site C into the CBD and then took another connection to Observatory. This journey cost R5.50 and took about 1.5 hours. Alfred (2008) needed to borrow money from friends and neighbours three times to pay for the travel costs involved in this extended job application. After about a month of waiting Alfred was told that he was unsuccessful. It is important to note that he was not unsuccessful in the application process because of the spatial constraints; however, this example still demonstrates that long and costly commutes could be a great obstacle and that not everyone has the money to go for interviews (as in the examples of place-to-place search).

Even though residents of Du Noon can more easily use door-to-door search, many find jobs using social networks. Isabel (2008), a Du Noon resident, obtained a job with the help of a friend with whom she had previously worked. They worked together at a crèche in Blaauwberg where she was working as a domestic worker. The friend asked her employer's neighbours if they needed a domestic worker, and then recommended Isabel. Yoliswa (2008), also a Du Noon resident, obtained a job with the help of a friend with whom she had previously studied. Yoliswa's friend was a domestic worker in Sunset Beach, and when asked by her employer's neighbour if she knew anyone who could work for them, she recommended Yoliswa.

Success of the various search methods:

The Schöer and Leibbrandt (2006) study presents the results of the Khayelitsha/Mitchells Plain survey (2000) showing that close to two thirds of the employed people in these areas had found their jobs through social networks. The remaining one third was employed through more formal mechanisms such as newspaper advertisements, or through active search methods such as contacting employers directly. These statistics show how networks have been the more efficient form of job search. Their study concludes that job-seekers pursue search methods that are a compromise between what they perceive to be effective and what is feasible for them, (Schöer and Leibbrandt, 2006).

The findings, using empirical examples, have shown that spatial mismatch affects the feasibility of using certain methods for some residents of Site C. For those who want to use door-to-door search and those who have to use it because they don't have networks, the spatial mismatch creates many constraints, such as long and costly commutes. These constraints can be overcome by using savings or borrowings to search and/or by using social networks, but only for those who have these resources.

Even though residents of Du Noon may not suffer the constraints of spatial mismatch in using place-to-place search in the northern suburbs, their success in job search is not necessarily better than those living in Site C. Some residents of Du Noon used place-to-place search unsuccessfully and were thereafter successful when using networks to find a job in the same area. For example, Fizika (2008), a resident of Du Noon, knocked on doors at Killarney Gardens but was turned away at the gates having been told that there were no available jobs. Fizika (2008), a Du Noon resident, tried to find a job at a factory in Killarney Gardens using the place-to-place search method. Despite being able to walk to the job sites, she was told there were no vacancies and was not employed. With the help of her sister's boyfriend, Fizika returned to Killarney Gardens soon thereafter and was employed at a dairy factory. Her sister's boyfriend had heard from his boss at the company that there were positions available for family members, and he had informed Fizika. Without this assistance, Fizika would likely have had to return several times before finding a job. She commented (2008) that "you must know someone on the inside to get a job." This sentiment

is attested to in the example above of Ayanda (2008), to whom a factory manager explained that those who knew employees of his factory would be first in line for jobs. An example of this also occurred with a respondent of Site C. Linda (2008) found a job close to her home in Site C, cooking for the feeding scheme at Mandela Park Primary School. Despite the proximity to her home which made place-to-place search a viable option, Linda found this job using her social network. Her child's teacher had introduced Linda to a teacher at Mandela Park Primary School, after which Linda was employed.

Certain search methods may be perceived or proven to be more effective, however many residents of Site C do not have the choice of which method to use. Even if using networks is the most effective method of search and it overcomes the spatial mismatch, not everyone has an active network. This means that some residents are restricted to choosing methods such as place-to-place search. This means that if they do not have money to use or borrow, then their success of job search is limited by the spatial mismatch. The Du Noon residents, however, have the choice to use place-to-place search without the spatial constraints when they do not have active networks (even though this has shown to be no guarantee of a job).

The evidence has shown that in both case sites, if jobs are both scarce and are found through social networks, then the job searcher has little choice about where the job is. This may explain why a Du Noon resident takes a job that is far away. Even though Du Noon residents have job opportunities close by, they may not be able to gain employment in these areas and can therefore also experience a spatial mismatch of sorts.

4.6. A CLOSER LOOK AT JOB SEARCH METHODS

Schöer and Leibbrandt (2006) used a quantitative survey for their study. Their approach used standard questions for each interview and restricted responses to predetermined criteria/categories, such as the four distinct search categories: exclusively passive searchers, exclusively active searchers, mixed searchers and non-searchers. This deductive approach

limited the identification of new job search trends. In contrast, I have found that using a qualitative, open-ended interview method has given respondents more freedom to share their experiences relating to employment. As a result, it has enabled a wider range of information to emerge. This has been useful in identifying dynamics not otherwise discussed in the literature.

Schöer and Leibbrandt (2006) defined the behaviours which fit into each search category. Exclusively active included job-seekers who used search strategies such as looking in the newspaper, waiting at factory gates, visiting employment agencies, waiting at the side of the road or looking at community notice boards. The exclusively passive category included searchers who “1) relied on household members to tell you about a job, 2) relied on friends/family members in different households to tell you about a job, 3) relied on household members to get you a job in the workplace and 4) relied on friends/family members in different households to get you a job at their workplace” (Schöer and Leibbrandt, 2006, p711). Mixed strategies included searchers who used a range of methods, some of which were active and some of which were passive. Non-searchers are those that did not search at all (Schöer and Leibbrandt, 2006).

While these categories are useful in identifying the main search methods, they do not capture the subtleties of the methods used by individual respondents. Consider the following example comparing two unemployed people. The first person informs all his relatives and friends that he is looking for a job, and thereafter finds employment with the help of one of these people. The second person does not tell anyone that he is unemployed, and inadvertently is informed by a relative of a job vacancy, which he subsequently gets. Using the above definitions, these two people would be classified in the same category. However, it is clear that their search methods differ. As such, I argue that the exclusively passive category ought to be further subdivided into “completely passive searchers” and “active-passive searchers”, in order to better understand the dynamics at play. This illustrates that Schöer and Leibbrandts (2006) use of the term “relying on others” to obtain employment is not inclusive of all the different ways in which one obtains employment.

This thesis describes empirical examples that display this distinction. An example is Vivienne (2008), a Du Noon resident. She was employed just one day a week and although she wanted a full-time job, she did not ask anyone for a job. Rather, she waited in the hope that someone would offer her a job. Ayanda (2008), a current resident of Du Noon, is an example of someone who was more active in the use of her networks. She notified her past employer in Bothasig that she was unemployed and looking for a job and her past employer gave her contact details for a family that was looking for a domestic worker in Cambridge, Milnerton. Ayanda then contacted this family and was subsequently employed.

In addition to the behaviour of job searchers, there are different dynamics that occur from the side of the job-seeker's contact. The contact can also be seen as more active or passive in their assistance.

First, the contact waits for their employer to ask for more assistance, namely, offering work to people they know or second, the job-seekers' past employers, friends, or family members actively asked people they knew if they were looking for additional employees. An example is Fizika (2008), a Du Noon resident, who was employed at a factory in Killarney Gardens with the help of her brother-in-law. This was her second job at a factory at Killarney Gardens. The brother-in-law waited to be told by his boss that the company was hiring more people and that employees could bring people they knew to apply for jobs, rather than asking his boss directly if there were vacancies for family members. Fizika's brother-in-law thereafter phoned and informed her about the job. Linda (2008), a Site C resident, is an example where her contact was more active in trying to help her obtain a job. Linda was employed with her mother's help on a farm in Picketberg, approximately 150 kilometres from Cape Town. After informing her mother that she was looking for a job, her mother specifically asked the farmer if he needed new staff. Despite denying her initial request, he offered Linda the position when her mother eventually retired from the job.

The above discussion has revealed various dynamics of the 'passive search' method which were not illustrated in the definition by Schöer and Leibbrandt (2006).

4.7. THE ROLE OF SPATIAL MISMATCH IN MAINTAINING JOBS

The examples above demonstrate that many Site C residents overcame the spatial constraints to locating and obtaining a job by using the social networks search method. However, I found that often even those residents who obtained jobs were still faced with a number of obstacles to maintaining their jobs due to the spatial mismatch. Specifically, the long distances between places of residence and places of work resulted in long and costly trips, severely diminishing what little disposable income was available to the job-seekers. These spatial mismatch constraints challenged Site C residents' ability to maintain jobs when their income was either insufficient or minimal relative to the cost of travel. It was also a constraint when residents' commuting times were very time consuming due to the distance and inefficient transport and their family time and household duties were negatively affected. For example, Bongiwe (2008), a Site C resident, worked as a bricklayer in Monte Vista in the Northern Suburbs, approximately 30 kilometres from Site C. He earned R35 per week; however, to get to the building site he had to take a taxi that cost R5 a day for a return ticket. This added up to R25 a week in travel expenses, leaving a disposable income of just R10 per week. Bongiwe gave up his job because of the impractically low net wage.

The constraints of spatial mismatch to maintaining jobs were sometimes overcome by residents who had access to private transport or who earned sufficient wages to cover commuting costs. In some instances, residents even chose to remain employed and suffer the negative consequences even though their disposable income was not sufficient or it took away from their family time. For example, Nbambo (2008) travelled long distances to work every day, not leaving her enough time to do her domestic chores. Despite this, she chose to keep her job as a domestic worker in Observatory in the southern suburbs. To get to work she first took a taxi costing R4 per trip approximately two kilometres to the Nolungile train station in Site C. From there she took a train approximately 25 kilometres to the Salt River station, after which she walked approximately two kilometres to her job in Observatory. The monthly train ticket cost her R90 and the journey took approximately one and a half hours each way, totalling around three hours' worth of commuting daily. The alternative mode of transport is the bus, which costs R286 per month, which is triple

the train cost. She used the monthly train ticket for three days a week. She earned R330 a week at this job leaving her with a disposable income of R1 230. Goodman (2008), also a Site C resident was employed as a bricklayer and painter by a building company in Montagu Gardens. He got this job through his brother who was working there at the time. Even though Montagu Gardens is approximately 30 kilometres from Site C, his transport was organised by his company who arranged to pick up and drop off the workers at the building sites.

Du Noon residents had fewer spatial barriers to maintaining employment when they were employed in the northern suburbs. None of the Du Noon respondents left their jobs in these areas as a result of spatial constraints. Instead, Du Noon residents listed other factors for leaving their employment such as crime, being fired, or having to attend to domestic duties, including looking after their children. For example, Fizika (2008), an employed resident of Du Noon, gave up her job at a factory at Killarney Gardens when she fell pregnant with her third child. Isabel (2008), also a Du Noon resident, had a cleaning job at a crèche in Tableview but left the job because the ownership of the crèche changed and she did not get on with the new owner.

However, similar to those from Khayelitsha, some residents of Du Noon still had long and costly commutes, especially those working in the southern suburbs. For example, Vivienne (2008) used to be a resident of Khayelitsha and worked in Observatory. She later moved to Du Noon because she was awarded a government house, and she kept the job in Observatory. Her commutes to work remained long and costly. Although she kept the job, others may not have been able to due to these spatial constraints. This reveals that even though people in Du Noon may not be spatially constraint when they are able to find work in the northern suburbs, they may be constrained when they work in the southern suburbs. If one does not have a sufficient wage relative to the commuting costs then one might not be able to overcome these spatial challenges.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

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5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The key question in this thesis was whether or not the spatial disconnection between places of residence and job opportunities exacerbates the unemployment problem in Site C. It attempts to answer this by comparing the affect of Site C's and Du Noon's geographic locations on employment success of residents. It also investigates under which conditions a spatial mismatch is more or less of a constraint.

Based on the findings in this paper, I draw the following conclusions:

- 5.1. THE SPATIAL MISMATCH BETWEEN SITE C AND JOB OPPORTUNITIES RESULTED IN LONG AND COSTLY COMMUTES TO WORK FOR MANY SITE C RESIDENTS.

The older commercial and industrial areas along the railway line to Khayelitsha are easily and directly accessible for Site C residents by train, the cheapest form of public transport. New developments in Cape Town, such as Century City, are less accessible for residents of Site C because they are not directly accessible via the trains. In order to access these areas by train, Site C residents first had to travel into the city centre, then take another train, before using either a bus or a taxi to reach their final destinations. This time-consuming commute forced some respondents to opt for the more expensive option of taking a taxi or bus directly to their destinations.

- 5.2. DU NOON RESIDENTS DO NOT EXPERIENCE A SPATIAL MISMATCH WHEN WORKING IN THE NORTHERN SUBURBS; HOWEVER, DU NOON'S UNDEVELOPED PUBLIC TRANSPORT SYSTEM OFTEN MADE IT DIFFICULT FOR SOME RESIDENTS TO ACCESS CAPE TOWN'S NEWLY DEVELOPED AREAS.

For most residents of Du Noon, it appears that there is not as much of a spatial mismatch as experienced by those in Khayelitsha because within a ten kilometre radius of Du Noon is a wide

range of job opportunities. These short travel distances allow Du Noon residents reduced transport costs and travel times as compared to those of Site C residents.

However, unlike with Site C residents who have the option of using train, bus or taxi directly from the area, taxis are the only available transport option directly out of Du Noon. This made it difficult for some residents to access the newly developed areas even though they were not far away. Moreover, having to use taxis meant that the cost per distance travelled for Du Noon residents was high compared to that of Site C residents.

It is also important to note that some residents of Du Noon also suffer the spatial constraints of long and costly commutes when they work in the southern suburbs.

5.3. THE SPATIAL MISMATCH CONSTRAINTS IMPOSED ON JOB-SEEKERS DIFFERED ACCORDING TO THE JOB SEARCH METHOD USED.

I found that the spatial constraints are most restrictive to job search when using 'place-to-place' search; that is, trying to find employment by knocking on the doors of potential employers or looking for job advertisements in shop windows. As a result of the spatial mismatch in Cape Town, place-to-place job search is costly and time consuming for residents of Site C. Due to the nature of this search method, for example not always having the relevant information about job vacancies, respondents who used the place-to-place search method often made many visits to the search sites. This method of search requires time and money. In order to use this method of search, residents had to cover travel cost with savings or loans. The respondents' ability to use this method also varied at different times, for example when they had money or when they did not and could not borrow. Conversely, I found that the job search methods such as using social networks, newspapers or community hall advertisements, can often overcome these geographic constraints; that is, they are not greatly affected by distance. Spatial mismatch is most restrictive to job search success for residents of Site C who do not have active networks and cannot pay for the commuting cost of place-to-place search.

Conversely to Khayelitsha, Du Noon's proximity to many job opportunities, meant that residents could use the place-to-place search method quite easily as they could walk to the industrial area of Killarney Gardens to search for jobs. This allowed them to search for jobs incurring no travel cost and minimal travel time. Although Du Noon residents could use this method to search for jobs in this area without geographic restrictions, it is neither easy nor cheap to search in other areas such as the Southern Suburbs since commuting cost and time would increase.

In contrast to the place-to-place search method, the network search method was accessible to most Site C job searchers because it limits the cost and time of search caused by spatial mismatch. With this method, respondents made use of their friends, relatives and past employers to widen their information base regarding job vacancies. Residents of Site C were able to obtain jobs in distant areas without enduring any job search costs. The job-seekers' networks were not limited to the neighbourhoods in which they lived.

Although this method helps overcome the spatial mismatch constraints, not everyone had an active network that could assist in job search. In these cases, residents of Site C had to use the other search methods which were often restrictive due to the spatial mismatch.

Even though residents of Du Noon may not suffer the constraints of spatial mismatch in using place-to-place search in the northern suburbs, their success in job search is not necessarily better than those living in Site C. Some residents of Du Noon used place-to-place search unsuccessfully and were thereafter successful when using networks to find a job in the same area.

Certain search methods may be perceived, however many residents of Site C did not have the choice of which method to use. Networks may be the most effective method of search in that it overcomes the spatial mismatch; however, if residents did not have an active network, then this choice of search method was not available to them. This meant that some residents were restricted to choosing methods such as place-to-place search. If they did not have money to use or could not borrow money for transport then their success of job search was limited by the spatial mismatch. The Du Noon residents, however, had the choice to use place-to-place search

(without the spatial constraints) if they did not have active networks (even though this has shown to be no guarantee of a job).

5.4. SPATIAL CONSTRAINTS WERE AN OBSTACLE TO MAINTAINING EMPLOYMENT FOR SOME SITE C RESIDENTS.

Even though many Site C residents were able to overcome the constraints of spatial mismatch when locating and obtaining employment by using the networks search method, some still struggled to keep their jobs due to the spatial constraints.

These spatial mismatch constraints challenged Site C residents' ability to maintain their jobs when their income was either not sufficient or minimal relative to the cost of travel. It was also a constraint when residents' commuting times were very time consuming due to the distance and inefficient transport and their family time and household duties were negatively affected. The constraints of spatial mismatch in maintaining jobs were sometimes overcome by some residents who had access to private transport or who earned sufficient wages to cover commuting costs. In some instances, residents even choose to remain employed and suffer the negative consequences even though their disposable income was not sufficient or it took away from their family time.

Du Noon residents had fewer spatial barriers to maintaining employment, when they were employed in the northern suburbs. None of the Du Noon respondents left their jobs in these areas as a result of spatial constraints. However, similar to those from Khayelitsha, some residents of Du Noon still had long and costly commutes, especially those working in the southern suburbs. This reveals that even though people in Du Noon may not be spatially constrained when they are able to find work in the northern suburbs, they may be constrained when they work in the southern suburbs. If one did not have a sufficient wage, relative to the commuting costs, then some residents would not be able to overcome these spatial challenges.

Based on the findings and conclusions of this research, I recommend that not only should better public transport be provided, but that this new transport needs to make the dispersed new

developments easily accessible; that is, having more flexible transport routes which are affordable and efficient. This recommendation is similar to that of Ihlanfeldt and Young (1996), the main difference being that Cape Town already has a flexible transport system called taxis. Although the taxis are more flexible than the train and bus routes, they are the most expensive form of public transport and many cannot afford these costs. Therefore a cheaper 'version' of taxis needs to be established, for example a taxi service subsidised by the government. Alternatively, the government could possibly regulate costs to ensure affordability.

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The names of the interview respondents are not real. This has been done for the purpose of keeping the identities of the respondents anonymous. The respondents' names have been switched around within the group and therefore I have chosen not to reference any surnames.

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| Ayanda, 2008, Du Noon. | Interviewer: Debbie Goetz |
| Fizika, 2008, Du Noon. | Interviewer: Debbie Goetz |
| Isabel, 2008, Du Noon. | Interviewer: Debbie Goetz |
| Maketso, 2008, Du Noon. | Interviewer: Debbie Goetz |
| Monde, 2008, Du Noon. | Interviewer: Debbie Goetz |
| Richard, 2008, Du Noon. | Interviewer: Debbie Goetz |
| Viviene, 2008, Du Noon. | Interviewer: Debbie Goetz |
| Yoliswa, 2008, Du Noon. | Interviewer: Debbie Goetz |
| Zoleka, 2008, Du Noon. | Interviewer: Debbie Goetz |
| | |
| Alfred, 2008, Site C. | Interviewer: Debbie Goetz |
| Bongiwe, 2008, Site C. | Interviewer: Debbie Goetz |

Bonile, 2008, Site C.	Interviewer: Debbie Goetz
Gloria, 2008, Site C.	Interviewer: Debbie Goetz
Goodman, 2008, Site C.	Interviewer: Debbie Goetz
Johanna, 2008, Site C.	Interviewer: Debbie Goetz
Linda, 2008, Site C.	Interviewer: Debbie Goetz
Nbomba, 2008, Site C.	Interviewer: Debbie Goetz
Violet, 2008, Site C.	Interviewer: Debbie Goetz

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEWS WITH SITE C RESPONDENTS

Alfred 1st interview by Debbie Goetz: 3 June 2008
 2nd interview by Debbie Goetz: 15 July 2008
 3rd interview by Debbie Goetz: 31 October 2008

Current address: Site C, Khayelitsha
 House type: Informal, one room-no real divisions
 Employment status: Currently Unemployed
 Date of birth: 1971 (currently 37 years old)
 Gender: Male
 Home language: Xhosa

General time line:

1971: Born
 2001: Birth of first child, a boy
 2002: Tele-sales course (part time)
 2005: Birth of second child, a girl
 2008: Agricultural learnership, Stellenbosch

Residential time line:

1971: Dimbaza, Eastern Cape
 1986: Crossroads, Cape Town
 1996: Masiphumelele, Fish Hoek
 2000: Site C, Khayelitsha

Employment time line:

1998: Da Vinci's, Glen Cairn – pizza maker
 1999: Scarborough – pizza maker
 2000: Clicks Fish Hoek – cashier
 2001: Mugg and Bean, Fish Hoek – coffee maker
 2002: Restaurant, Kommetjie –start-up helper
 2002: Mugg and Bean, Bayside centre, Tableview – coffee maker
 2004: Volunteer for neighbourhood watch, Site C
 2004: Primi Piatti, Canal walk, Century city dish washer, then bartender.
 2005 (September) – 2007 (October): Research assistance for TB and HIV (Desmond Tutu project)– Site C clinic
 2007 (October) – 2008 (January): Nyanga Clinic, Ethefeni– counselor

Job-related travel:

(1) Cape Town central to Fish Hoek: 32.72 km
 (2) Site C to Nyanga clinic
 (3) Cape to central to Stellenbosch: 45.81km
 (4) Cape Town to Scarborough 46.71km and Fish Hoek to Scarborough
 (5) Bus from Khayelitsha to Bayside Centre, Blaauwberg Road, Tableview: 33.81km
 (6) Mew Way Khayelitsha to Century City: 29.11km

Background:

Alfred is a 37 year old male living in Site C, Khayelitsha and is currently unemployed.

Alfred was born in the Dimbaza in the Eastern Cape, near King Williams Town. His father and mother split up and his father passed away in 1983. He moved to Cape Town in 1986, where his mother worked at the time. She worked in Nooordhoek and had a shack in Crossroads. In 1986 they moved from Crossroads to Site C. Alfred completed his Matric (grade 12) in Nyanga. At that time Alfred was not living there with his mother as he had moved to Masiphumelele, Fish Hoek (approximately 30km from Cape Town CBD). He lived with his sister while working

there. When his mother passed away in 2002 he moved back to Site C and took over his mothers shack, as his sisters were older and already had their own shacks. He and his girlfriend are currently living with their two children, a boy of seven and a girl of three. His son attends a private school in Kuils River, called Hebron Church Academy. Alfred is able to send his son to this private school with the help of an English man with whom he used to work on the Desmond Tutu community research on TB. The man is from England but was studying at the University of Cape Town and although he has returned to England, he continues to support the education of Alfred's child.

Alfred and his girlfriend are both currently unemployed. His girlfriend had a catering job in 2007; however, she had to resign because the times were too difficult, finishing late at night and having to look after the children.

Although Alfred is not formally employed at present, he is involved in the community. He volunteers as a reservist for the South African Police Force. He works at least five days a month without pay. He is hoping to be recognised and employed with the SAPF.

Alfred is currently searching for work and sends his CV into various jobs that he sees in the newspaper (when he has the money) or hears about on the community radio station, 92.20fm. He sometimes asks family members for the money; however, often a situation arises where one hears about a job and then does not have money to pay for transport, and therefore misses the application date. Alfred felt that he could not ask his neighbours or friends for money because of the uncertainty of how he would pay them back. He therefore asks his family for money. However, they live far away, which also has negative consequences. Either, one does not get the money in time, or one does not have money to phone or go fetch the money from your family. His family stays in Nyanga and therefore he needs money to go to Nyanga and money to phone them. His second sister lives in Mandela Park (approximately 4km from Site C), but he still needs to take a taxi or train to get to her or money to phone her. The only 'solution' is if someone comes to visit one at the right time.

Alfred finds that the obstacles for him finding work also include his not having a driver's license, his lack of computer knowledge, his age and his lack of experience.

Employment history:

In 1998 Alfred was employed in the pizza department Da Vinci's restaurant in Glen Cairn. His sister who worked at the restaurant making pizza was asked by her boss to find someone who could work with her making pizzas. She Alfred and he got the job. He found the work was very strenuous because the restaurants are busy and the hours are long. In his department he was doing everything alone: rolling the bases, pre-cooking the bases, assembling the pizza and baking the pizzas. He got paid R1200 month. His transport included a taxi from Masiphumelele to the Fish Hoek train station and a train to Glen Cairn. He left the job because he was earning poorly and did not feel that the money was sufficient. Also, there was a promising job in Scarborough (on the way to Cape Point).

In 1999 he was employed as a pizza maker in Scarborough (47km from Cape Town CBD). He found this job through the newspaper, after which he phoned and went for an interview. He traveled daily from Masiphumelele, Fish Hoek, to Scarborough. However, because there is no public transport from Fish Hoek to Scarborough, staff transport was arranged by the employer, who picked them up from and dropped them off at home. The transport money was taken off their wages. He worked there for one year and one month and then the restaurant closed down. He usually worked the evening shift from 4pm until 10 or 11pm. It took 20 to 25 minutes to get home and staff transport dropped him straight at home. Alfred earned R1200 a month.

From 2000 until 2001 Alfred was employed at Clicks in Fish Hoek as a cashier. He found the job by going door to door and asking for a job. He worked four hours a day and earned between R150 and R200 a week. He took a taxi to and from work and was dropped right outside the store. He left because of the bad pay. Before leaving, he arranged a job at Mugg and Bean coffee shop.

In 2001 he worked at Mugg and Bean in Fish Hoek, making coffee. He earned R1100 to R1200 a month. He walked to work which took about 20 minutes. During the day he walked home and

felt safe because the roads were busy; however, at night he felt that it was a bit risky. He was retrenched after one year because the business was not doing well.

In 2002 he helped with the start-up of a restaurant in a snake park, around Ocean View on the way to Kommetkjie. This was not a fixed job (only two to three weeks) and was paid daily. He found this job through a referral from a waiter with whom he worked in Scarborough who knew Alfred's skills in pizza making. Alfred still lived in Fish Hoek and walked approximately ten minutes to work. If he worked late until 6 or 7pm then his employer would take him home.

In 2002, he worked at Mugg and Bean at Bayside centre, Tableview. The manager phoned him offering him a job making coffees. They knew him from the Mugg and Bean in Fish Hoek. He used the bus as transport to work, which took approximately 45 minutes. He bought a monthly ticket that cost roughly R100. His transport comprised a taxi straight from Site C to Bayside centre (34km). He earned approximately R1200 a month. He did not enjoy the job but needed to work to feed and clothe his family. Whilst he was there he arranged to do a tele-sales course in Cape Town that he found in the newspaper. He arranged his working hours around the course, which he did for a month. After completing the course he felt that he had had enough of restaurants and in 2003 he resigned.

In 2004 Alfred decided to start working or volunteering for the community. He volunteered for neighbourhood watch – a community project not part of the SAP. He then volunteered for 'The Peace and Development Project' which helped the community with organizing documents and other items. He was not paid but got some food parcels. During that time he continued to look for a job. He sometimes bought the Wednesday Argus if he had money or the Cape Times on a Monday since they has job sections. He also used community newspapers. Another means of searching that he used was listening to the radios. One of the main radio stations he listened to was the Khayelitsha community radio station, a project that has grown substantially started in a small container by students from the University of the Western Cape. The station often advertises jobs and gives news.

In 2004 he also got a job at a restaurant called Primi Piatti in Canal Walk, Century City. Alfred is close to his niece (his half-sister's daughter who lived in Guguletu. She worked at Primi Piatti washing dishes, but was moving to Port Elizabeth. Since there was going to be a vacancy washing dishes, she called Alfred and asked if he wanted the job. He worked in the dishes department for two to three months and then went to the bar to be a bartender with drinks and coffee. He used the Golden Arrow buses to get to and from work. The bus went straight from Khayelitsha to Canal Walk (30 km). The bus cost R100 for a monthly ticket. After a year he decided that the job was not for what he was looking for and he left. Alfred said he was not getting any job satisfaction in the job. He knew that he would never get a promotion, and he wanted to better himself. He said that the job's pay and stress were not worth it. He said that even if there had been the same restaurant in Khayelitsha, he would probably not have worked there.

In September 2005 Alfred began working for Desmond Tutu Research helping with research at the Site C clinic. He saw an advertisement on the community hall for research assistance for TB and HIV. The job included visiting households and educating people about the link between HIV and TB. He was not paid well – R2200 a month. He stopped working for Desmond Tutu research in October 2007 as he had a prospective job lined up in counseling, which he preferred.

From October 2007 until the end of January 2008 Alfred worked as a counselor at an organisation called Etheferi, in Nyanga clinic. He was told about the job by a friend who passed a message to someone with whom Alfred was working, telling him to send in his CV. He stopped working there because he decided to do a one year agricultural learnership given by the government which took place in Ulsenburg, Stellenbosch (46km from Cape Town CBD). He thought the learnership would give him an advantage in that with these extra skills he could potentially start his own business. He could grow his own food on his own land and then sell it. He thought it was also important for him to have this knowledge when counseling as he needed to advise people on these topics, for example a balanced diet and growing one's own food. Although the learnership was free, the respondents needed to pay for their own transport. Alfred took a train everyday to the learnership for which he paid R200 a month. Unfortunately, Alfred

could not complete the learnership, as his brother passed away during the course. Due to the large costs thereof, he did not have enough money for the transport to complete the course. His brother died from TB and HIV. Alfred took care of the funeral procedures and took the body up to the Eastern Cape to be buried. Since then he has been unemployed.

During the past year, Alfred has tried many search methods. He has answered newspaper advertisements, sending his CV into many places, for example tele-sales, police, and fireman. His working network normally consists of people he sees everyday, including his neighbours, his friends, street community members and reservist members. They discuss how the job search is going and if anyone has seen any openings.

He used the door-to-door method once or twice in the year but said that it is very difficult. One of the reasons is because it costs money every time one searches. If one gets the transport money from a friend or family, one feels under pressure to come home successful or late in the day, showing that one has searched for many hours. Often one knocks on doors and does not even know what the company does there. As such, the jobs are sometimes not relevant. When searching using this method, one has no knowledge so one cannot target specific places. Other times, one gets chased out of the area by the police because people see one walking up and down and got worried.

He decided to look for a job in Ysterplaat in the northern suburbs. He only needed one train ticket to get there. When knocking on doors he was sometimes chased away because people scared of robberies. Other people just told him that they did not have any jobs. Sometimes he got to speak to the managers, and they said no, not even asking what he wanted. One furniture shop assistant told him to sit down, and then called the manager, who asked him where he was from and what he wanted. He told Monde that there were no jobs at the time. Some places took Alfred's CV but never called.

He is currently waiting on an answer for a job for which he applied and was interviewed. He heard about the job through a friend with whom he worked in the past who had phoned previously to check up on Alfred and his employment status. Monde did not know the exact job

title but it was 'law enforcement'. Once Alfred heard about the job through this friend, he had to get to the police station in central Khayelitsha to hand in an application form. It was raining on that day he went to apply so he had to take public transport. He took a taxi that cost R12, R4 from site C to the C section and then R8 to central Khayelitsha. Once he handed in his application, he got called back for a fitness test in Wynberg. He took a taxi to Wynberg which cost R11.50 one way. He collected the money for the taxi fare from friends and neighbours. He passed the fitness test and was called back for an interview in Observatory. He once again asked his neighbour for transport money. He took the train from Nolungile station which cost R5.50. The train goes into the CBD and then another connection goes out to Observatory. It took about 1.5 hours.

Bongiwe 1st interview by Debbie Goetz: 21 June 2008
 2nd interview by Debbie Goetz: 13 July 2008

Current address: Site C, Khayelitsha
 Date of birth: 1968, 40 years old
 Employment status: Unemployed (self classified), self-employed – classified by Debbie because he runs his own shop in the township
 Home language: Xhosa

General time line:

1968: Born
 1991: 10 week bricklaying course at Befsa College
 1997: Married to his current wife

Residential time line:

1968: Willowvale, Transkei
 1990: Site C, Khayelitsha

Employment time line:

1991 (one month): Bricklaying, Monte Vista

1992: Odd jobs, selling earrings, painting

1992-2000: Self-employed photographer

2000-current: Self-employed shopkeeper in Site C

Work related travel:

(1) Taxi from Mew Way, Khayelitsha to Monte Vista: 27.29km

(2) Train from Nolungile train station in Site C to Belville station (Tienie Meyer Road):

22.46km, from Belville station to Monte Vista station (approximately 8km)

Background:

Bongiwe is a 40 year old man who lives in Site C, Khayelitsha. He classifies himself as unemployed but is in fact currently self-employed, owning and running a shop in the township.

He is currently living in Site C with his wife and two children, a boy and girl. The boy, aged 13, is his from a previous girlfriend. The girl, aged 17, is not his biological daughter, but rather the child of his current wife. Both children are at school in Khayelitsha. He was married in 1997 to his current wife. She is currently unemployed, but also helps him run the shop.

He was born at in Willowvale, Transkei. He grew up and went to school there and completed standard 8 (grade 10). He was raised by his mother since his father was deceased and circumstances were difficult. He first came to Cape Town in 1987 for a December holiday. He then came here in 1990 alone to stay with his sister who was married and living in site C. He stayed with her from 1990 to 1993.

He went back to school in 1992 and completed standard 9 but failed standard 10. In 1995 he once again tried to complete standard 10 in Langa, but failed as his brother got sick and died in that year.

In 1991, in the time between his arrival in Cape Town and his going back to school, he did a 10 week bricklaying course at Befsa College, behind the University of Cape Town. He was told about the course by a relative (about whom he could not give much information). The students did not have to pay for the course and were given money for transport to get to and from the course. He passed the course but could only get casual work because he did not have experience. He got a bricklaying contract job in Monte Vista in 1991 after the course. He left after a month because of the low wage which was only R35 per week. The employers organised a taxi for the workers everyday which took them straight from Site C to the building site (23km). It cost R5 a day return. When he could not afford the taxi, he took the train to work. He took the train from Site C station, to Belville station, to Monte Vista station (approximately 8 km) and the rest of the way to work which took 30 minutes. He could not remember the exact area of the building site.

In 1992, while he was trying to complete standard 9, he did a few odd jobs in Site C. When he did not have money he would not go to school for a few weeks and try doing odd jobs during that time. He was asked to paint a container for two days and earned R100. He took some of the money to buy food and then decided to buy earrings with the leftover R60, which he planned to sell at a profit. He sold earrings for about three months. In 1992 he decided to buy a camera with the money he had earned from the earring sales. He bought it by putting a deposit down of R150 and paying off R250. He taught himself how to use the camera and started taking photos all over Site C. The photos were R5. He took the photos in the community for people and then developed them in the CBD. People heard about his work from seeing him in the community. He worked as a photographer until 2000 and at the same time he ran a small shop that he started in 1997, selling food goods from his home.

In 1997 he got married to his current wife. They opened the shop because she wanted him to stop doing the photography. Another reason he gave for stopping work as a photographer in 2000 was the increasing crime level. He felt that during 2000 crime was going up and lots of photographers died. He was fearful that someone would kill him for his camera.

He wanted to work as a driver as he has a license. He found that people wanted experienced drivers, so he decided to stop looking since he has his shop.

He now he wants to run a business in security and construction. He has not studied for this, and has not yet started the business because he has no money. He has, however, registered it as a close corporation. The next step is for him to open a bank account and get a taxpayers' number.

His wife was employed at an old age home in 2007 in Pinelands but has since left. He had not asked his wife why she left the job, but said that she would probably say that she left because he asked her to leave. He said that he did not mind her working someone could run the shop in her place.

Bonile

Interviewed by Debbie Goetz: 20 July 2008

Current Address:	Site C, Khayelitsha
House type:	Informal house
Employment status:	unemployed
Date of birth:	1966
Gender:	Male
Home language:	Xhosa

General time line:

1966: Born

Residential time line:

1966: Nelspruit

1984: Mossel Bay

1997: Site C, Khayelitsha

Employment time line:

1983: Nelspruit – Metrorail

1984: Construction work: Mossel Bay

1997: Taxi driver, Mitchells Plain to Pickle-valley, Cape Town

2002 - 2004: Taxi driver, Nyanga, Cape Town

2005 - 2008: Construction driver, Afrimat Quarries Company in Paarden Island

Background:

Bonile was born in Nelspruit in 1966. He completed standard five when he was 15 years old but did not finish school. He stopped because his mother did not have enough money. She was working as a domestic worker but was struggling and therefore wanted Bonile to work. The rest of his family is in Nelspruit but is unemployed.

Employment history:

From the age of 17 to 18 Bonile worked on the railway construction in Nelspruit. It was a temporary job that he found the job in a newspaper advertisement by Metrorail.

He moved to Mossel Bay in 1984. He found construction work there, making roads. He found the job by walking the streets looking for work. He got a drivers license while there and was employed on the construction site as a driver. He worked there for three years, living in the caravans near the site that were set up for the workers.

In 1997 he moved to Site C, Cape Town. He lived with his uncle before his uncle returned to Nelspruit. Bonile remained in the shack and now lives there with his two children, his girlfriend and his brother. His girlfriend is the mother of his younger child, and the mother of his elder son lives in Mossel Bay. His girlfriend is has been unemployed for the last three years.

Three months after arriving in Cape Town Bonile found a contract job driving taxis, which he did for four years. He worked in the area from Mitchells Plain to Pickle-valley. He got the job

through his friend in Site C who was also a taxi driver, and earned R200 a week. He left because there were fights between the taxis.

Bonile then worked for another transport company as a taxi driver for three years. Once again he got the job through a friend who was also working for this company.

From 2005 to 2008 he worked at a Quarries Company in Paarden Island. He was employed as a driver of a construction vehicle to make roads. He found the job by knocking on doors at Paarden Island, and was retrenched when the company was taken over by another company. The company organised transport for all the workers.

Gloria 1st interview by Debbie Goetz: 3 June 2008
 2nd interview by Debbie Goetz: 9 November 2008

Current address: Site C, Khayelitsha
 Employment status: Unemployed
 Date of Birth: 1980
 Gender: Female
 Home language: Xhosa

General time line:

1980: Born
 2002: Birth of first child-girl
 2006: Birth of second child-boy

Residential time line:

1980: Crossroads, Nyanga
 1985: Site C, Khayelitsha

Employment time line:

2003: Domestic work, Welgemoed (6 months)

2008: Domestic work, Welgemoed

Job related travel:

(1) Taxi from Khayelitsha to Belville 23.62km, and a taxi from Belville to Welgemoed: approximately 5km

Background:

Gloria is a 28 year old female living in Site C Khayelitsha and was unemployed for the first interview and by the second interview was working as a domestic worker in Welgemoed twice a week. .

Gloria has been living in site C since 1985. Prior to Khayelitsha, she lived in Nyanga. She is not married but has a boyfriend, who is the father of her two children. They have a girl aged 6 and boy aged 2. She completed grade 11 in Nyanga but failed grade 12. Gloria then did a one year course at a sewing factory in Wynberg where she got a sewing certificate. She tried to get a job at this training factory thereafter however there were no jobs vacant at the time.

Employment history:

In 2003 Gloria was employed as a domestic for 6 months in Welgemoed. She worked as a substitute for her cousin 5 days a week. The cousin had been working two jobs, at a night club and as a domestic worker and felt like she needed a break from one. Gloria therefore helped out for that time period. Gloria took a taxi to work. She took a taxi from Khayelitsha to Belville and then took another to Welgemoed. It cost R31 return. From Khayelitsha to Belville cost R9.50 and from Belville to Welgemoed is R6. She had to be at work at 9am. The taxi rank is a 10 minute walk from her house but she did not feel safe so she decided to take a taxi from home to the taxi rank which cost an extra R3. She earned R90 a day and transport money was included.

Current employment:

Gloria is currently working twice a week as a domestic in Welgemoed. This was previously her mothers job, however when her mother got sick, Gloria took over. She would take a taxi from Site C to Belville and then a second taxi from Belville to Welgemoed. It costs her R17, 50 one way. Her income includes an additional R20 contribution towards transport. When Gloria is at work, her children go to the crèche. She was able to obtain a child grant for each child and this helps pay for the crèche.

Searching:

During the time of the first interview, Gloria felt that she was unemployed due to her lack of experience. She has tried to search for restaurant work and replied to newspaper advertisements however was unsuccessful. Gloria also tries to use networks as a search option by asking friends, family and neighbours if they know of any jobs. She says however that it is sometimes difficult to use her family as job connections as they predominantly male and are employed doing heavy labour work such as construction.

Goodman Interviewed by Debbie Goetz: 20 July 2008
(Entire interview was translated verbally by a friend)

Current Address: Site C, Khayelitsha
Employment status: Employed
Gender: Male
Home language: Xhosa

General time line:

1994: Married current wife
1996: Birth of first child
1999: Birth of second child
2005: Birth of third child

Residential time line:

Lady Fray, Eastern Cape

1989: Site C, Khayelitsha

Employment time line:

1989-current: Bricklayer at Italian Man, Montagu Gardens

Job-related travel:

(1) Mew Way, Khayelitsha to Montagu Gardens: approximately 30km

Background:

Goodman is a married male living in Site C, Khayelitsha. He is currently employed at Italian Man, Montagu Gardens, as a bricklayer and painter.

Goodman was born in Lady Fray in the Eastern Cape. He dropped out of school having completed standard 2 (grade 4). He did not continue because there was no money to pay fees. His parents sold a goat so he could have money for school fees initially but thereafter they had nothing to sell to get money. He was 15 when he finished school.

In 1989 he moved to Cape Town where his older brother was. His parents stayed in the Eastern Cape. His brother had a sub-contract with Italian Man doing bricklaying.

Goodman is currently married and has three children aged three, nine, and 12. The older two are at school in standard 1 and Sub-B (grade 2) and the youngest child goes to crèche. His wife does not have a job and has never worked. She was born in 1977 and is 31 years old. She did not finish matric and completed school up until standard 3 (grade 5). They met in Cape Town and got married in 1994.

Current job:

In 1989, Goodman was employed as a bricklayer and painter by Italian Man in Montagu Gardens. He got this job through his brother who was working there at the time. He initially got an apprenticeship for two years and thereafter continued with contract work. He currently earns R17 an hour. His transport is organised by Italian Man who organised to pick up and drop off the workers (approximately 30km).

Johanna

Interview by Debbie Goetz: 21 June 2008

Current address: Site C, Khayelitsha
 Home type: Informal
 Employment status: Employed as a domestic worker
 Born: 1949, 59 years old
 Gender: Female

General time line:

1949: Born
 1960: Dropped out of school – completed grade 6
 1973: Married
 2005: Husband passed away

Residential time line:

1949: Indwe, Ciskei
 1979: Nyanga, Cape Town
 1985: Site C, Khayelitsha

Employment time line:

1970 (January) - 1974: Domestic work, Camps Bay

1974 - 1986: Domestic work, Parrow

1986 - current: domestic worker, Belville South

Job related travel:

(1) Site C to Belville South: 20.66km

(2) Nyanga to Parrow: 14.17km

(3) Nyanga to Camps Bay: 24.96km

Background:

Johanna is a 59 year old female living in Site C, Khayelitsha. She is currently employed as a domestic worker and has been in the job for the past 22 years.

Johanna was born in Indwe in the Ciskei. She completed grade 6 at school there, and got married in 1973. She and her husband lived as subsistence farmers in the Transkei rather than work formally. They moved to Cape Town in 1981, when she was 32 years old, and lived in a hostel in Nyanga upon arriving. Her husband got a job with a building contractor. She and her husband moved to site C in 1985, where they got their own plot. She and her husband had children before he passed away in 2005.

Employment history:

From 1970 to 1974 Johanna was employed as a domestic worker in Camps Bay. She got the job with the help of her friend. She used to get to work using a bus that cost R30 a month. She left the job because it was the apartheid era and she was caught without a pass and was thrown in prison for two weeks.

From 1974 to 1986 Violet was employed as a domestic worker in Parrow for five days a week. She found the job by knocking on doors and asking for work. Her prospective employer invited her in to work without asking for references or past experience. She used the bus as her mode of transport to work, which cost her R8 weekly. She took the bus from her hostel in Nyanga to

Parrow. The bus stop was quite far from the hostel - a 20 minute walk – but the bus stopped close to the house in Parrow. She left the job after 15 years when her employers left the country.

Current employment:

From 1986 to now Johanna has been employed as a domestic worker in Belville South for three days a week. She feels that now that she is older, she does not have the energy to do more than this amount of work. She found the job through a friend who was working there and uses the bus to get to work. She catches a bus close to her home at around 5:45am and arrives at work at approximately 7:15am. She leaves work at 3pm and is dropped close to her home. She feels safe going to and returning from work. Her transport costs her R60 per week return. Johanna earns R120 per day including transport money.

Linda 1st interview by Debbie Goetz: 31 May 2008
 2nd interview by Debbie Goetz: 13 July 2008

Current address: Site C, Khayelitsha
 House type: Informal
 Employment status: Volunteer (for a stipend)
 Date of birth: 1972 (currently 36 years old)
 Gender: Female
 Home Language: Xhosa

General time line:

1972: Born
 1990: Birth to first child, a boy
 2000: Birth to second child, a girl
 2003: Birth to third child, a boy

Residential time line:

1972: Whittlesea, Eastern Cape
 1989: Moved to Crossroads, Cape Town (with mother and brother)
 1989: Moved to Site C, Khayelitsha (with mother and brother)
 1998: Moved in with Boyfriend in Site C
 2003: Brother moved to Worcester
 2005: Mother moved back to Eastern Cape

Employment time line:

1993-1995: Apple Farm in Grabouw
 2004-2005: Grape farm in Picketberg
 2006: Temporary domestic work in Kwezi Park, Khayelitsha
 2006-Current: Nomsamapongwana Primary school feeding scheme, Makhaya, Mandela Park
 (approximately 4 km from Site C)
 2007: Lufthansa – preparing meals (three-month contract – during December school holidays)

Job-related travel:

(1) Current job: Mew Way, Khayelitsha taxi to Makhaya, Mandela Park: approximately 4km
 (2) Apple farm in Grabou: Mew Way, Khayelitsha taxi to Grabou: approximately 45km Grabou taxi rank to Mapha farm
 (3) Grape Farm in Picketberg: Mew Way, Khayelitsha taxi to Bellville central: approximately 20km. Bellville to Picketberg: approximately 125km
 (4) Lufthansa: Site C to Cape Town International Airport: approximately 20km

Background:

Linda is a 32 year old female who has been living in Site C, Khayelitsha since 1989. She is currently a volunteer (getting only a stipend) at her daughter's school, cooking for the school feeding scheme.

Linda was born in Whittlesea, Ciskei, Eastern Cape. She left school after completing standard 5 (grade 7) because of a shortage of money. High school fees were more expensive than those for primary school and her family could not afford the uniforms she needed. . Linda, along with her mother and brother, moved to Cape Town in 1989 in search of work. She has never known her father. On arrival they stayed at Crossroads, and moved to Site C, Khayelitsha in 1989. Her mother returned to the Eastern Cape in 2005 and is currently unemployed, living on a disability grant. Her brother works in Worcester on a grape farm as he has since 2003.

Linda is has a boyfriend with whom she has lived since 1998. He is 48 years old and is currently unemployed. He is a bricklayer and gets casual work on an inconsistent basis due to the weather. Linda has three children who live with her. The first child is a boy of 18 years. His biological father's whereabouts are unknown to Linda. The current boyfriend is the biological father of the other two children. The one is an eight year old girl who goes to school at Sivile Primary in Kwezi Park. The youngest child is a five year old boy who goes to Masiphakame educare centre. She gets a grant of R400 per month for the two children's schooling.

Employment history:

From 1993 to 1995 Linda held a job on an apple farm called Mapha in Grabou. She found the job through her cousin (her mother's sister's child). This cousin also lived in Site C and Linda saw her roughly one weekend a month. Linda stayed on the farm during the week and returned home to Site C on the weekend using a taxi as a means of transport. The taxi cost them R20 one way from Site C to Grabou (the trip is approximately 40 km) and then an additional R15 from the Grabou taxi rank to the farm. Linda earned R140 a week in 1993 and this got raised by R15 for each consecutive year. She left this job in 1995 when the farmer sold the farm.

From 2004 to 2005 Linda worked on a grape farm in Piketberg, near Wellington. The farmer was not looking for new people, so when Linda's mother retired she took over her mother's position. Linda stayed at this job during the week and returned to Site C on weekends. The farmer arranged transport for the workers to Belville taxi rank from the farm and from there they took public transport to Site C. It cost R7.50 (at the time) for a taxi from Khayelitsha to Belville

(approximately 20km). She earned R220 per week. She only worked there during the season, which runs from October until February. When she was not at farm work, she sold meat in the township. She bought the meat with her farm bonus of R1000. She left the job to come home and look after her children. Her second child was starting school and her job was too far from home. Her first child had been put in a shelter by social workers as a result of her absence and his suffering when she was not there.

In 2007 Linda got a three-month contract with Lufthansa at Cape Town International Airport. Her uncle's child told her about the job. Linda worked at the food trays, cooking the food. She left after her contract was up as the season was over and she could not get another contract. She used a bus as a means of transport to and from work, which cost R53 return per month. She took the bus from the bus stop in site C and was dropped off at the company gate at the airport. She left for work at 6:45 am to be there by 7:30am. She left work at 4:30 pm and took bus back, and if she was late she could catch the bus at 5:15pm. She earned R1650 per month.

Current employment:

In May 2006 Linda was employed at Nomsamapongwana Primary school, in Mandela Park (approximately 4km from Site C). She volunteers there for a stipend, cooking for the school feeding scheme programme. She was assisted in her job search by the teacher of her second child. This teacher noticed that Linda's child did not have food for school and was not working properly, so she asked Linda to come in for a discussion. At the meeting Linda told the teacher of her employment problems and lack of money. The teacher arranged with a friend of hers for to have Linda to do washing and ironing on weekends when needed. The friend lives in Kwezi Park, Khayelitsha, which is approximately a ten minute walk from where Linda lives. The teacher also helped Linda get her current job at the school, for which Linda gets a stipend of R320 per month. She wakes up at 5am and leaves Site C at 6:30am in order to be at school by 8am. She finishes work at 4pm, and on her way home she fetches her child from crèche at 5:30pm. Linda takes a taxi to work which on the date of the first interview cost R6 return per day, and had increased to R8 by the second interview. The taxi fetches her from a road close to her home in Mbekweni Street and drops her close to the school. When returning from work,

however, the taxi drops her at the taxi rank in Site C. From there she walks for roughly 30 minutes to get home. A taxi all the way to her home would cost an R4.

General opinion of job search:

Linda did not look for jobs in the city because she felt that everyone already knows someone that will put them in a job, so she would be wasting her time. She felt that one needs to know someone to get job in town. She would, however, be very happy to take a job in town if she found one. Linda says that she was a bit drunk during the first interview, and as a result the information changed somewhat in the second interview. The information presented here comes mostly from the second interview.

Nbambo 1st interview by Debbie Goetz: 31 May 2008
 2nd interview by Debbie Goetz: 13 July 2008

Current address: Site C, Khayelitsha
 House type: Informal house
 Employment status: Employed – domestic worker
 Date of birth: 1968
 Gender: Female
 Home Language: Xhosa

General time line:

1968: Born
 1991: Married current husband
 1992: Birth to first child, boy
 1995: Birth to children, twins

Residential time line:

1968: Willowvale, Eastern Cape

1991: Moved to Johannesburg

1993: Moved to Site C, Khayelitsha

Employment time line:

1998-2002: Domestic worker, Vredehoek

2002-current: Domestic worker, Observatory

2003-current: Domestic worker, Mowbray

Current: Domestic worker, Kloof street

Job-related travel:

(1) Mew Way, Khayelitsha to Salt River train station, Voortrekker road: 25km. Walks from there to Rochester Road, Observatory (train): approximately 2km

(2) Site C to Mowbray taxi rank: approximately 20km

(3) Mew Way train to Cape Town train station (Strand Street): 29.74km. Cape Town taxi to Camp Street: approximately 2km. Walks from Camp Street to Kloof Street: 0.15km

Background:

Nbambo is a 50 year old female living in Site C, Khayelitsha (since 1993). She is currently employed as a domestic worker in Cape Town. This phase of employment has been sustained for the past 8 years.

Nbambo was born in 1968 in Willowvale in the Eastern Cape. She did not grow up with her biological parents but rather with another family in the community. She did not want to reveal any other details as she was very emotional. The family had its own small business, but was very inefficient with budgeting and often gambled away the money. The business was not doing well and when Nbambo finished grade 11 she was asked to leave and take care of herself. As such, she could not finish grade 12.

In 1991 Nbambo went to Johannesburg, where she married her current husband. She left behind all her family in the Eastern Cape. They have three children. Their first child, a boy, is 16, born

in 1992. Her other two children are twin girls, born in 1995. In 1993 the couple and their first born moved to Site C from Johannesburg in search of employment. Their eldest child attends the Zola Business School. Their youngest children are in grade 7. Nbambo was able to attain a child grant in 1997.

Employment history:

Nbambo was unable to find work for her initial seven years in Cape Town. She felt it was due to lack of education and lack of having a network.

From 1998 until 2002 Nbambo held a job as a domestic worker. She got this job through a close friend whom she knew from her home town in Transkei. Her employer lived in Sea Point and thereafter moved to Vredehoek. She was fired from this job in 2002 after being accused of stealing. The original employer recommended Nbambo to his friend in Observatory before firing her and Nbambo has held this job since 2002.

From 2002 to now, Nbambo has worked in Observatory in Rochester Road three days a week. Her transport to work involves a taxi from her home to the Nolungile train station in Site C which costs R4. She then takes the train to the Salt River train station (Voortrekker Road) (approximately 25km) and walks from there to her job, which takes 20 minutes (2km). She buys a monthly train ticket which costs R90. She leaves at 8am to be at work at 9:30 am. She finishes work at 5pm and arrives back in site C at 7 pm. She feels safe returning home at that time in summer but in winter she feels that it is not safe to walk home because it is dark. She earns R110 per day.

From 2003 to now Nbambo has worked in Mowbray for the ex-husband of her employer in Observatory. She works for him every second week on a Wednesday. On alternative Wednesdays, she works for the neighbour of the ex-husband. Her transport to these jobs comprises a taxi from her home to the taxi rank in Site C costs R4; a taxi to Mowbray taxi rank, which costs R11.50; and a 10-minute walk to work. She earns R110 per day at these jobs as well.

On Fridays Nbambo works in Kloof Street, Cape Town. She got this job via her employer in Observatory who recommended her to this employer. Her transport includes a taxi to the Nolungile train station in Site C which costs R4 from her home. She then takes a train from Site C to Cape Town train station in Strand Street, which is 29.74km. Thereafter she takes a taxi from Strand Street to Camp Street 2.26km which costs R5. She then walks from Camp Street to Kloof Street for 0.15km.

She goes to work at 8am for all the jobs because she wants to make sure that she sees the kids off to school. When the kids return from school there is no one at home. Her husband arrives back home at 6:20pm

Her husband works as a gardener in Mowbray for a company called Trafalgar. She helped him find the job by speaking to one of her employers (the neighbour of the ex-husband in Mowbray) and mentioning that her suffering husband was looking for work. He started working in this job in February 2007. He uses the trains for transport to and from work and uses the same route as Nbambo, as mentioned above. He works five days a week. He needs to be at work at 8am and returns at 6.20p.m. It takes 1.5 hours on the train. He also buys a monthly ticket for R90, and he earns R500 a week.

General comments:

A problem mentioned by Nbambo that arises from the long travel times is that she does have enough time to do her household duties. She says, however, that she prefers to be employed even if she has to travel long distances.

Violet

Interviewed by Debbie Goetz: 21 June 2008

Current address: Site C
 House type: Informal
 Employment status: Unemployed
 Date of birth: 1970, 38 years old
 Gender: Female

General time line:

1970: Born

Residential time line:

1970: Eastern Cape

1984: Cape Town, Site C

Employment time line:

2001: home based care, Bothasig

2002-2005: Cleaner at a Tavern, Bothasig

Job-related transport:

Site C- Bothasig: approximately 10km

Background:

Violet was born in the Eastern Cape. She did standard 3 there. She then came to Cape Town and did standard 4 here. Then she went back and did standard 6 and 7 in the Eastern Cape. She moved to Cape Town in 1984. She came because she was sick and her mother was in Cape Town. Her mother was working in Cape Town. She did not go to school 1984 because she was sick. In 1989 she got pregnant with her first child. In 1992 she had her second child. In 1994 she went back to school and did standard 7. In 1996 she got pregnant with her third child and so she once again left school. She went back to school in 1998 and completed her Matric in 1999. In

2000 she did a home-based-care course, at Woodstock hospital and thereafter did her training at Conradie hospital for 6 months.

Employment history:

In 2001 she got a job in Bothasig looking after an old lady. She got this job through her teacher from her home based care course. She worked there for six months and stopped because the old lady died. She would usually take a train and taxi to work, but if it was late she would take a taxi straight there. The direct taxi cost R7 one way. She earned R1400 in the first month and thereafter earned R1800.

From 2002-2005 she worked as a cleaner in a Tavern in Bothasig. She got the job through a neighbour who had contact with the owner of the tavern and the owner asked this neighbour if he knew anyone to work for him as a cleaner. She worked 4 hour shifts. She initially earned R150 a week but by the end of her three year, was earning R300 a week. She took a taxi to work everyday which cost R7 each way. She used the same taxi everyday and paid monthly and was therefore able to get a slight discount.

In 2006 she was sick and could not work. She joined a support group and in through them found out about a first aid course at St Johns. She did this course in 2007 for 3 months but could not find work thereafter.

She asked the owner of the tavern for her cleaning job back but they were renovating and therefore she was not employed. She has not been employed since then.

When searching for jobs, she asks people she knows for information about job opening. She says she does not buy the newspaper because it is too expensive.

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEWS WITH DU NOON RESPONDENTS

Ayanda 1st interview by Debbie Goetz: 20 July 2008
 2nd interview by Debbie Goetz: 1 November 2008

Current Address: Du Noon
 Accommodation: RDP house (owned by her sister); she built a squatter room for herself in
 the yard
 Employment status: Employed as a nanny
 Date of birth: 1981, currently 27 Years old
 Gender: Female
 Home Language: Xhosa

General time line:

1981: Born
 1997: Father passed away
 1999: Dropped out of school – completed grade 11
 1999: Computer course, Khayelitsha (six month diploma)
 2000: Sewing course, Salt River
 2003 (January): Petrol attendant course (two weeks)
 2006: Professional nanny and housekeeping course

Residential time line:

1981: Welkom
 1985: Crossroads, Nyanga

1986: Site C, Khayelitsha

1992: Du Noon

Employment time line:

2002 (February) – 2005 (February): Half-day Nanny (mornings), Edgemoor (Settlers Drive)

2004: Afternoon nanny, Edgemoor

2006: Petrol attendant, Parklands Total garage (three months)

2006: Petrol attendant supervisor (two months)

2007 (July) – current: Nanny, Cambridge (Glenville Street).

Job-related travel:

- (1) Site C to Epping (job search): 20.35km
- (2) Du Noon to Loxton Road, Milnerton: 9.19 km
- (3) Du Noon to Settlers Drive, Edgemoor: 9.33km
- (4) Mew Way to Parklands: 36.06km
- (5) Mew Way to Settlers Drive, Edgemoor: 27.74km

Background:

Ayanda is a 27 year old engaged female, with no children, currently living in Du Noon and working as a nanny (child-minder).

She was born in Welkom in 1979. Her family moved to Crossroads, Cape Town (30km from Cape Town CBD) in 1985. In 1986 they moved to Site C, Khayelitsha because the government was trying to clear the over-populated area of Crossroads. Ayanda is currently living in Du Noon with her sister, brother, mother and nephew. Her father passed away in 1997. They live in her sister's RDP home, obtained in 1992. Ayanda sleeps in a room that she built herself at the back of the house in the yard. Her fiancé lives with them when he is home, but he works all over the country. Ayanda has lived in Du Noon for the past five years. She moved from Khayelitsha because she broke up with her old boyfriend who was harassing her. There was no one to protect

her in Khayelitsha since she was living just with her mother. Her sister is 32 years old and is doing her internship at Pathcare in N1 City. Ayanda's mother lived in Khayelitsha until after her husband passed away, after which she moved in with her children in Du Noon. Her mother is a live-in domestic worker in Bothasig and stays with her children on the weekends. Ayanda's brother is 23 years old and is working at Montagu Gardens at a factory.

Ayanda grew up at home with an abusive father which resulted in her constant movement to foster homes. She grew up in Site C, Khayelitsha, but went to school in Bonteheuwel, a coloured school. She started but did not finish matric, only completing grade 11 (20 years old). She feels she made a bad decision dropping out of school. The reason why she s

Fizika

Interviewed by Debbie Goetz: 20 July 2008

Current address:	Du Noon
House type:	RDP house (Owned by boyfriend)
Employment status:	Currently employed
Date of birth:	1978
Gender:	Female
Home Language:	Afrikaans

General time line:

1978: Born

1992: Completed school in grade 7

1995: First child born

1998: Second child born

2003: Family moved to Belville

2006: Third child born

Residential time line:

1978: Worcester

1981: Date unknown to respondent: Malmesbury (65km from Cape Town) (farm: Vrindale)

2001: Du noon

Employment time line:

1993-1994: Domestic worker, Sea Park, Melkbos Strand

2000-2003: Brick builder near Atlantis

2004- Faircape (dairy factory) at Killarney Gardens.

2007: Dairy Chains- Killarney Gardens (cleaning buckets)

Job related travel:

(1) Du Noon to Killarney Gardens: approximately 2km

(2) Du noon to Atlantis: approximately 40 km

Background:

Fizika is a 40 year old unmarried female living in Du Noon. She is currently employed at Dairy chains, a dairy factory in Killarney Gardens, where she cleans buckets.

Fizika was born in Worcester. Her family (mother, father, five sisters and one brother) then moved to Vrindale (a farm in Malmesbury) in 1981. Isabel completed grade 7 at age 15/16. Fizika moved to Du noon with her boyfriend and 3 kids in 2001. Her kids are all boys aged 2, 10 and 13 years. The kids go to school in Durbanville as it is an Afrikaans school. Her boyfriend is currently working as a welder. Fizika's brother and two of her sisters are currently working but she does not know details of the specific jobs and places.

Employment history:

From 1993-1994 Isabel was employed as a domestic worker in Sea Park, Melkbos Strand. She obtained information about this job through a friend who also lived in Malmesbury. The friend's employer was looking for an additional domestic. The friend recommended Fizika. Fizika used a

taxi and a bus to work. There was only 1 taxi in the morning from Vrindale (Malmesbury) to Killarney, which Fizika took. She would then take a bus from Killarney to Melkbos Strand. She could not remember the cost of the transport. Her working hours were 7am-5pm or 8am-6pm. Fizika stopped this job because her child was sick and she needed to look after him.

Fizika was then unemployed for a few years and tried looking for jobs by knocking on the doors of factories at Killarney Gardens. She was told that there were no jobs available. She said: "I must know some inside to get a job".

From 2000-2003 Fizika was employed making bricks near Atlantis (exact detail of the street was unknown). She obtained this job through a 'white man-Frans from Paarl' who came to her area (Vrindale) offering people jobs of brick building at Appolo. She was paid R300 a week. She lived in Vrindale for the first year of working there and therefore too a bus (golden arrow bus) to work and back. For the last 2 years of working there she lived in Du Noon and walked to work. The factory closed in 2003 so she stopped working there.

From 2004-2006 Fizika was employed at a dairy factory, Faircape in Killarney Gardens cleaning the buckets. She obtained this job through her brother-in-law (lived in Mitchells Plain) who was working there at the time. The boss notified the staff that they were hiring more people and that they could bring people they knew. Her hours were 7am until 5pm. She walked to work which took 15 minutes. She stopped this job because she got pregnant with her 3rd child.

In August 2007-2008 she was employed at a factory in Killarney Gardens called, Dairy Chains. She was employed to clean buckets (20L). She got this job through the help of her sister's boyfriend who worked at the factory. He asked the boss if there was a job for his cousin (Isabel), the boss said yes and Isabel was employed. She earned R1400 in 2007 and earned R1800 in 2008 per month. She walks to work everyday which takes her 15 minutes.

General:

When Fizika is unemployed her boyfriend looks after her. When Fizika is working, her boyfriend's niece looks after the kids.

Isabel

Interviewed by Debbie Goetz: 26 July

Current address: Du Noon
 Date of Birth: 28/06/1967
 Employment status: employed
 Gender: Female
 Home Language: Afrikaans

General time line:

1967: Born
 1985: Dropped out of school (completed grade 9)
 1986: Birth of first child – a girl
 1992: Birth of second child – a girl
 1996: Birth of third child – a girl
 1996: Father dies
 2000: Birth of fourth child – a boy

Residential time line:

1967: Ceres, Bellavista
 1988: Moved to Cape Town (Tableview – crèche)
 1992: Moved to Ceres
 1998: Marconi Beam, Milnerton
 1998: Du Noon

Employment time line:

1988: Cleaner at a crèche, Tableview

1992: Farm worker in Ceres

1998: Char in Table view (twice a week)

Current: Creche in Table View

Job related travel:

- (1) Du Noon taxi to Bayside centre, Blaauwberg Road: 5.59km walk from Bayside centre, Blaauwberg Road to 126 Arum Road, Table View: 0.70km
- (2) Marconi Beam (Joe Slovo Park – Marinus Street) to Blaauwberg Road, Table View: 7.69km

Background:

Isabel is a 41 year old married woman living in Du Noon with her husband and three children. She is currently employed as cleaner at a crèche in Table View.

Isabel was born in Ceres in 1967, in Bellavista. She was an only child. Her mother is still alive however her father died in 1996. All of her extended family still lives in Ceres. Isabel finished grade 9 in Ceres and dropped out when she was 18 because she fell pregnant. Her parents supported her until her child was two and then when she was 21 she decided to move to Cape Town to work. Her parents looked after her daughter whilst she was away.

Isabel and her husband have been living in their RDP home in Du Noon for ten years, and have been married for eight years. She has four children, of which her husband is the biological father of the three youngest children. They are aged 22, 16, 12, and eight. There are three girls and one boy (he is the youngest). The eldest daughter is working and living on her own. The youngest three children are at Visershoek Primary school near Durbanville. They travel to school on a government-provided bus. This school is far from their home, and it was chosen because it is the only coloured and Afrikaans language school in the area. When her third child was eight months

old Isabel and her husband came back to Cape Town and lived at Marconi Beam. In 1998 they moved to Du Noon.

Employment history:

In 1988 Isabel worked as a cleaner in a crèche in Table View (Veola Road) now called Rainbowland (at the time it was called Daisy Land). A friend of Isabel's from Ceres was working in Cape Town at the crèche and was asked by her employer if she knew someone who could come and work at the crèche, at which point she called Isabel. Isabel, along with two other workers, then stayed on the premises of the crèche. They did not pay rent and were given food because the pay was very little – just R37 a week. Isabel worked as a cleaner three days a week in the crèche and worked for the principal for the other two weekdays cleaning her house. She worked at the crèche for six years, and left because of a change of ownership and her dislike of the new owners.

In 1992 Isabel went back to Ceres and worked on a farm doing seasonal work. She worked at a vegetable company called Ceres Potato Fabric, sorting out vegetables, counting them and pocketing them. The company provided transport to and from the farm to her home.

In 1998 she was employed as a char in Blaauwberg twice a week. A friend of hers with whom she used to work at the crèche helped her find a job. The friend asked the neighbour of her employer if they needed a char and then recommended Isabel. She was paid R60 a day and needed to use part of that money for transport. She used a taxi as transport, catching the taxi that came from Maitland, picked her up in Marconi Beam and took her to Table View, from where she walked five minutes to work.

Current employment:

Isabel is currently employed at a crèche in Table View (Arum Road). The crèche is called Jay Skits. She obtained this job through an old friend from the crèche at which she had worked previously. This friend had opened up her own crèche and bumped into Isabel at the Bayside shopping centre. She offered Isabel a job and Johanna started working for her three days a week.

The crèche grew and Isabel decided to leave her two day a week char job to work in the crèche full time. She takes a taxi to and from Bayside Centre (shopping centre) from where she walks approximately five minutes to work.

Maketso

Interviewed by Debbie Goetz: 3 August 2008

Current address: Du noon
 House type: RDP house
 Employment status: Learnership
 Date of Birth: 1980
 Gender: Male

General time line:

1980: Born
 1998: Completed grade 12

Residential time line:

1980: Worcester
 1983: Port Elizabeth
 2007: Cape Town

Employment time line:

2001: Employed as a general worker at Shoprite (six month contract)
 2002: Employed as a general worker at Pick 'n Pay (one year contract)
 2004-2006: Employed at Steers
 2007-Current: Learnership at Metropolitan

Job related travel:

(1) Du Noon to Bellville: approximately 20km

(2) Du Noon to Adderley Street, Cape Town CBD: approximately 20km

Background:

Maketso is a 28 year old male living in Du Noon. He is currently unemployed and is doing a learnership at Metropolitan.

Maketso was born in Worcester in 1980. His family (mother, father, two sisters and a brother) moved to Port Elizabeth in 1983/4. Maketso is the eldest child; the others are aged 24, 18 and 13. Maketso completed grade 12 in Port Elizabeth in 1998. He then went to the Port Elizabeth University and studied a Bachelor of Commerce. He only completed the first two years and then dropped out because of financial problems. His mother did not have a job to pay for school and he could no longer get the national government loan that he had had for the previous two years because he did not achieve the required marks. He currently still owes money on this loan.

In 2007 he moved to Cape Town for a learnership, and now lives with his grandmother in Du Noon. She got an RDP home in May 2008.

Employment history:

From 2000 to 2001 Maketso was unemployed and was dependent on his parents.

In 2001 he was employed as a general worker at Shoprite on a six month contract. He found this job in the newspaper, and left the job when the contract ended.

In 2002 he was employed as a general worker at Pick 'n Pay on a year contract. He once again found this job through the newspaper. In 2003 he was again unemployed and dependent on his parents.

From 2004 to 2006 he was employed at Steers, a popular fast food outlet. He found this job through his mother's friend who was working there at the time. His mother asked her friend to ask her employer if there was a vacancy, and since there was, Maketso was employed. He started

working in the kitchen and was thereafter promoted to manager. He left this job because he was unhappy with the salary.

In 2007 he started a learnership for Metropolitan. His uncle applied for him, and Maketso did not ask his uncle how he found the learnership. The learnership was at Tygervalley, but the work-based experience was in Adderley Street, Cape Town at the Metropolitan health group. Maketso does not pay for the learnership but does need to pay for the transport and gets this money from his grandmother, who is on a government grant. Maketso takes a taxi straight to Cape Town or to Belville.

General:

His network in Cape Town is currently small as he just moved here. He has two friends who are both employed, and an uncle in Cape Town who is working for local government.

Monde Interviewed by Debbie Goetz: 3 August 2008

Current address: Du Noon
 House type: RDP house
 Employment status: Unemployed
 Date of Birth: 18 January 1973
 Gender: Female

General time line:

1973: Born

1991: Completed Matric- Transkei

1995: Two week training course in Milpark for petrol attendants

2002-2006: Married, father of youngest children

Residential time line:

1973: Transkei

1992: Makhaza, Khayelitsha, Cape Town

1997: Du Noon, Milnerton, Cape Town

Employment time line:

1993-1995: Employed as a domestic worker, Edgemoor, Bothasig (Letchworth Drive)

1995-1998: Petrol attendant in Killarney

2000-2003: Cashier at petrol station in Parklands

2006-2008: Car spray paint training (learnership) in Du Noon

2008: Bus driver learnership in Montana

Job related travel:

- (1) Bus to the learnership from Du Noon to Bellville: approximately 20km; then from Bellville to Montana: approximately 15km or from Du Noon to Cape Town: approximately 20km and then from Cape Town to Montana: approximately 15km
- (2) Taxi from Makhaza to Site C: approximately 4km; another from Site C to Elsies River: approximately 20km and then another from Elsies River to Edgemoor (Letchworth Drive): approximately 6km.
- (3) Taxi straight from Du Noon to Parklands: approximately 8km.

Background:

Monde is a 35 year old female who has been living in Du Noon since 1997. She is currently unemployed and is doing a bus driver learnership in Montana.

Monde was born in Nomaqa, Transkei in 1973. She has two sisters and two brothers. Her father is not alive and her mother lives in the Eastern Cape. She completed matric in the Transkei when she was 19. Her family moved to Cape Town in 1992 to Makhaza, Khayelitsha. She stayed there for five years and then moved to Du Noon. Her two brothers and one sister still live in Khayelitsha, and the other sister lives in Du Noon. Monde got married in 2002 and was married

until 2006. She has three children, the youngest of which she had with her ex-husband. She had her first child in the Eastern Cape and that child's father subsequently died. The eldest daughter is at school doing matric and the second eldest boy is doing grade R. They are at school in Du Noon. When Monde is at work the children go to school or to crèche.

Employment history:

From 1993 to 1995 Monde was employed as a domestic worker in Edgemoor, Bothasig (Letchworth Drive). Monde's sister was working as a domestic worker in Bothasig at the time, and when her employer's friend asked if she knew anyone who could work for her she told the prospective employer of Monde, and Monde got the job. At time she was living in Makhaza. She took a taxi from Makhaza to Site C, another from Site C to Elsies River and then another from Elsies River to Edgemoor (Letchworth Drive). It took her 1.5 hours to travel. She earned R350 a month, working five to six days a week. After a while they asked her to be a sleep-in domestic worker, so she no longer had to travel daily. She left because she wanted to look for a better job.

In 1995 Monde did a two week training course in Milpark for petrol attendants. It was free and she was given transport money.

From 1995 to 1998 she worked as a petrol attendant in Killarney. The training programme placed the participants in jobs. In 1995 to 1996, while she still lived in Makhaza, she took a taxi to Site C and then took a train to Maitland or Ysterplaat after which she took a taxi to Killarney. When she lived in Du Noon, she walked to work. She earned a basic salary of R300 a week plus tips. She left because she felt that it was not safe working at the garage because people were robbing it during the night. In 1999 she did not have work but her family helped her.

From 2000 to 2003 she was once again employed at a petrol station, this time as a cashier in Parklands. To get to work she took a taxi straight from Du Noon to Parklands. She earned R400 a week, and left because she was scared again of crime since she was working night shifts.

From 2004 to 2005 Monde did not work. She gave birth to her youngest child, and when her husband left, her family again helped her to survive.

From 2006 to 2008 Monde did car spray paint training (learnership), in Du Noon. The participants were given a R250 per week allowance. The programme coordinators promised to help find the participants jobs and Monde decided to do another learnership to be a bus driver, which she is currently doing.

Current employment:

From the beginning of 2008 to now Monde has been doing a full-time bus driving learnership in Montana (near Heideveld, next to Guguletu) for 12 months. She takes a bus to the learnership from Du Noon to Bellville and then to Montana, or goes from Du Noon to Cape Town and then to Montanna. The learnership pays for the transport costs. The participants get an allowance of R350 a week from government.

Richard Interviewed by Debbie Goetz: 26 July 2008

Current Address: Du Noon
 House type: RDP house- renting
 Employment status: Unemployed
 Date of Birth: 1980
 Gender: Male

General time line:

1980: Born

Residential time line:

1980: Umtata, Eastern Cape

1997: Grabou

2001: Du Noon

Employment time line:

1997-2001: Apple farm, Grabou

2001-2008: Tiler (various places)

2008 (Jan): 3 weeks, Tiler

Background:

Richard was born in Umtata, Eastern Cape. He currently lives in Cape Town in Du Noon, renting with 5 other friends. The company for whom he used to work rents the house for them, however since he is no longer employed by this company, he has been asked to move out. He will do so when he finds employment. He has a mother, 2 sisters and 2 brothers. His father is no longer alive. His mother, sisters and one brother still live in Umtata and his other brother lives in Grabou.

Richard dropped out of school after completing standard 8 in Umtata in 1997. He stopped because his father passed away and the family was having difficulty surviving. He therefore needed to start working.

Employment history:

Richard went to work in Grabou from 1997 to 2001. His brother was working there at the time and helped him get a job. His brother asked the boss for a job for Richard. They worked on an apple farm, doing gardening work. They lived on the farm in housing provided by the farmer. He earned R35 a day. He stopped working there because he found another job with better pay.

From 2001-2008 (January), Richard was employed for a tiling company. He got paid R45 a day. This company was based in Hout Bay, Cape Town however they moved around doing various contract jobs. His first contract job with them was in Grabou at a factory. He was able to get this job through a friend who worked there. The friend asked his boss if there were any jobs available. Richard knew the friend from Umtata. Richard had to have some tiling training

however had some knowledge , which he learnt from his father in Umtata. The company paid for accommodation in the various places they worked. Throughout the years that he worked for the company they worked at factories in Cape Town (Killarney), in Ceres, in Grabou, Robertson and in Bontewil. When they are Cape Town, he stays in Du Noon. His hours are usually 7am-4pm. He earns R45 an hour. He stopped working there in January because he was tired of working hard for minimal pay

In January 2008 he did a three week project tiling in sea point. He got this job by meeting a guy who works as a painter/plumber and waterproofing. He met this guy in Parklands at the shop 'on-tap'. Richard saw that this man was wearing painting clothes so he asked him if he could help him find work. This man worked for himself and was happy to try out Richard. When he worked in sea point he took a taxi to the guy he worked for in Big Bay and then they went together in the company car to Sea Point. The taxi to Big Bay cost R8.50. He worked from 8am to 5pm. He earned R150 a day. He did this job for three weeks.

He has not worked since January. Since then he has tried searching by going Parklands by looking for builders and asking if they need tiler for a job. He would take a taxi to go search and paid for transport by borrowing money from friends.

Viviene Interviewed by Debbie Goetz: 26 July 2008

Current address: Du Noon
 House type: RDP house
 Employment status: Currently employed once a week as a domestic.
 Date of Birth: 16 August 1965
 Gender: Female

General time line:

1965: Born

1986: Dropped out of school after completing grade 11

Residential time line:

1965: Retreat

Nyanga

2002: Du Noon

Employment time line:

1987 (January - March): Kitchen staff at restaurant in Parrow

1987 - 2000: Char (three days a week) in Rondebosch (Columbine Road)

1987 - Current: Char (twice a week; later once a week only) in Rondebosch (Hezaldon Street)

Job-related travel:

- (1) Du Noon taxi to Cape Town (Adderley Street): 19.25km; taxi from Adderley Street to Milner Street, Rondebosch: 9.59km; walk from Milner Street to Hazeldene Road: 2.11 km
- (2) Nyanga to Milner Road (bus stop): 14.67km; walk from Milner Road to Hazeldene Road, Rondebosch: 2.11km

Background:

Viviene is a 43 year old unmarried woman living in Du Noon. She is currently employed once a week as a domestic worker.

Viviene was born in Retreat in 1965. Her mother and sisters moved to Nyanga following the forced removals during apartheid laws. Her father lives in the Transkei. Her mother has a house in Nyanga where she lives with two of her four daughters. Viviene and her sisters were educated in Nyanga. She dropped out of school in grade 11 when she was 22 because as the eldest daughter she needed to start working for the family. Viviene currently lives in Du Noon with her

one sister, having received her RDP house in 2002. All the sisters are working. The one sister works at Truworths head office, the other as a nurse and the other at Woolworths.

Employment history:

In 1987, she obtained another domestic job in Rondebosch (Columbine road) for three days a week. She once again got this job through the church in Observatory. She used the same means of transport as the above job.

In 1987, before the above two jobs, Vivienne worked in the kitchen of a restaurant in Parrow, (she does not remember the details). She found the job by knocking on the restaurant's door and asking for work. Her mother gave her the money for transport, and she only worked there for a couple of months.

Current employment:

From 1987 to now Vivienne has been employed as a char (domestic worker) in Hezaldon Street in Rondebosch, twice a week. She obtained this job in 1987 through a church in Observatory (she cannot remember details of the church). She worked twice a week originally but since the employer's husband gave up his job, Vivienne only works there once a week. When living in Nyanga, she took the Golden Arrow bus from Nyanga straight to Rondebosch. The bus used to drop them in Milner Road, Rondebosch which was relatively close to where she worked. Now that she is living in Du Noon, she takes a taxi to Cape Town CBD and then another taxi to Rondebosch. There are no buses from Du Noon. The taxi drops her on Main Road in Rondebosch which is a 20 minute walk from where she works. Her employer pays the taxi fare of R35 a day return. She earns a total of R150 a day.

General comments:

Vivienne says that she survives on R150 a week but that it is not really enough. She admitted to not looking for work, although also pointing out that she is a hard worker. She says that her sister helps her if she needs, and during the day she enjoys knitting, making jewelry and sewing. She said she would take a job if she found one.

Employment time line:

2001-2003: Packer and cashier at Checkers in Table View

2005 (September) – 2006 (January): Cashier at a furniture shop in Montague Gardens

2006: Domestic job for six months, Melkbosstrand

2008: Domestic work for four to six months in Table View

Job related travel:

Du Noon to Montague Gardens: approximately 7 km

Du Noon to Melkbosstrand: approximately 20km

Du Noon to Tableview: approximately 8km

Background:

Zoleka is a 27 year old female who is currently unemployed and living in Du Noon.

In 1993, she moved to Site C, Khayelitsha from the Eastern Cape. At the time she had been living with her grandparents in the Eastern Cape, with her mother living in Cape Town and her father living in Johannesburg (her parents were divorced). When her grandparents died she moved in with her mother in Site C, along with one brother. In 2000, she moved to Du Noon as they felt that Khayelitsha was not safe. She finished school in Cape Town, passing grade 11.

She has one child who is six years old. He used to go to crèche and now goes to pre-school.

Employment history:

In 2001 she got her first job at Checkers (a supermarket chain) in Table View as a packer and cashier. She heard about the job through a neighbour who had heard about it via word of mouth. Zoleka applied for the job and got it. Work was from 9am to 7pm or from 10am to 8pm. She traveled to work with a taxi, but found it difficult to get transport back from work. The taxi cost R8 return. She resigned in 2003 because she had been a casual for three years and the manager would not make her a permanent employee.

She was thereafter unemployed for a year or two. She looked for work by taking her Curriculum Vitae to the stores or buying newspapers. She felt that agencies were not an efficient option for searching as she took in her CV and wrote a test but they never got back to her. During her time of unemployment, her mother and brother supported her. Her mother was employed as a domestic worker and her brother worked as a policeman.

From September 2005 until January 2006 Zoleka worked in a furniture shop in Montague Gardens. She was first a cashier and then later helped with office work. She found the job in the newspaper and then faxed her CV and was employed. She takes a taxi to work.

In 2006 she was employed as a domestic worker in Melkbosstrand for six months. Her mother organised the job. She asked her boss to find out if his friends needed a domestic worker, which they did, and so Zoleka was employed. She traveled to work by taxi which was expensive because of the distance. There were also only a few taxis on that route, especially when returning from work. As such, Zoleka often had to wait for an hour or more for a taxi. She left because the family moved to Johannesburg. Her income was R80 a day, from which she had to pay R14 for transport (return).

In 2007 she did not work, but she did a computer course for a month.

In 2008 she worked as a domestic worker in Table View. She got the job through the domestic who was working for the family at the time. The family was looking for a second domestic to help with the kids, which she did from 8am to 4pm. This job lasted a few months after which the family realised it no longer needed the assistance.

She then did a FAMSA counseling training course for a month and now volunteers for them in Du Noon. She does not get paid but is gaining experience.